The Summer of 1744

A Portrait of Life in 18th-Century Louisbourg

A.J.B. Johnston

Parks Canada Parcs Canada

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Cover: 18th-century Louisbourg comes alive again in Lewis Parker's 1982 painting "View from a Warship." (Photo by A. Fennell.)

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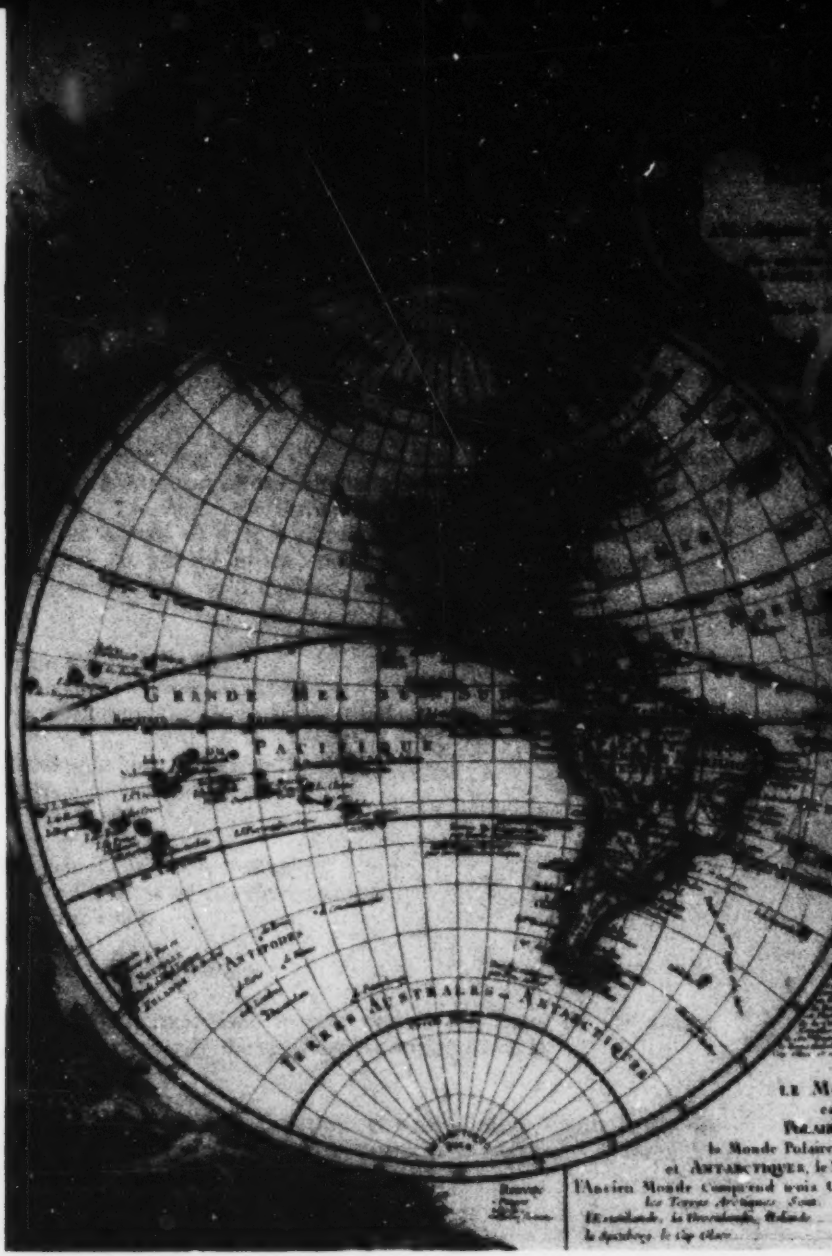
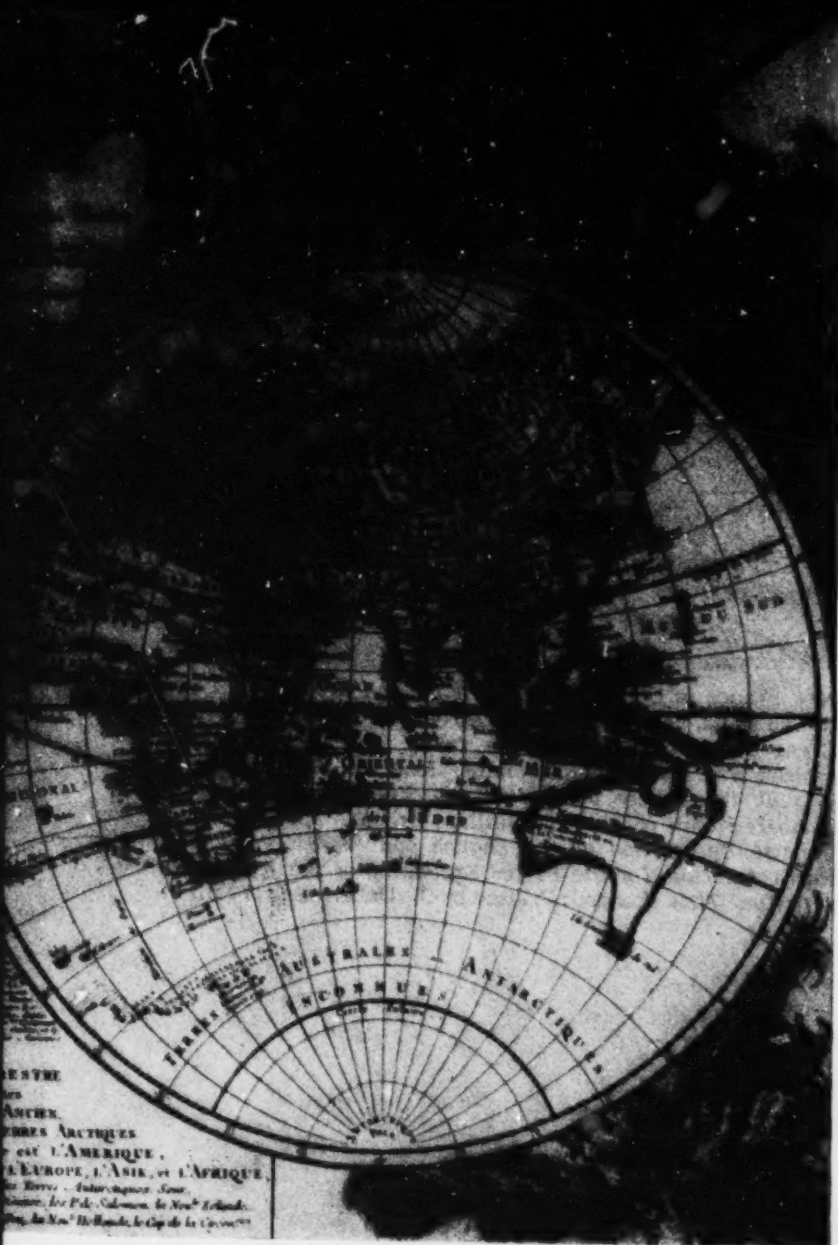
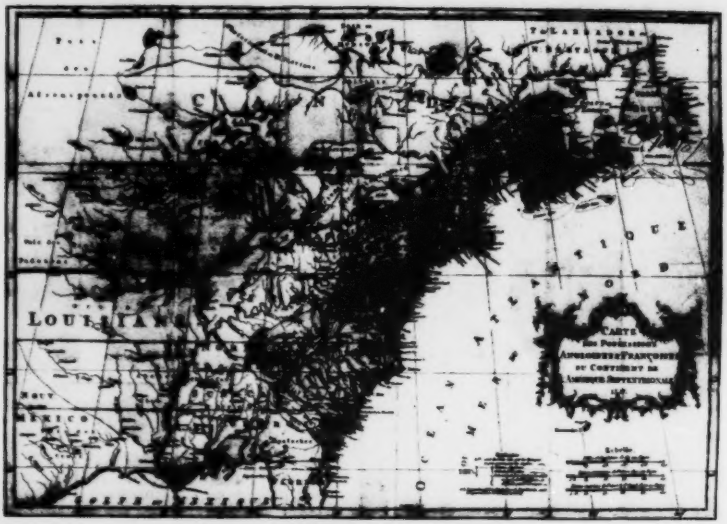


The world in 1744. With the exception of northwestern North America and Australia and New Zealand, the shapes of the continents were well known. There would be significant



changes in national and territorial boundaries between 1744 and 1763, the year France's dream of an empire in North America came to an end. (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)

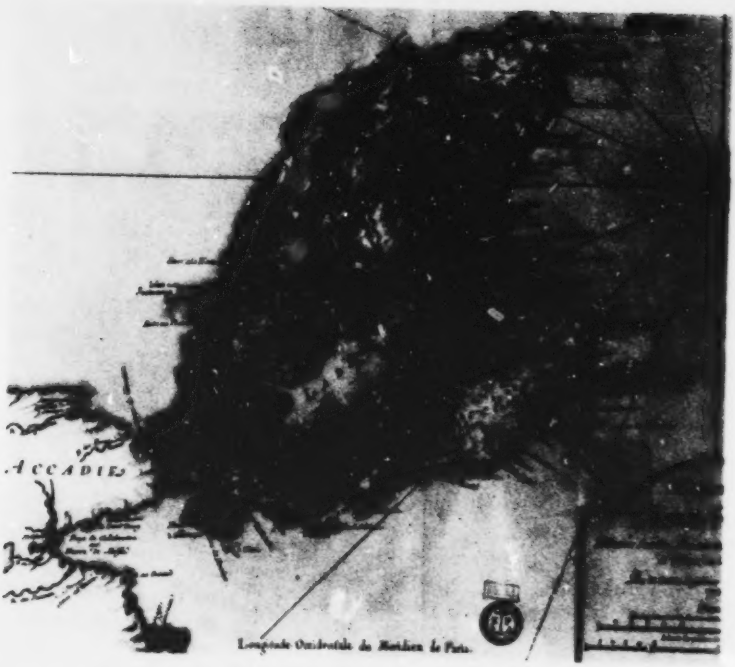


New France in 1755. Stretching north and south, from Labrador to Louisiana, and east and west, from Isle Royale to beyond the Great Lakes, New France was vastly underpopulated in comparison with the British colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. In 1744 there were perhaps 90 000 French in the New World compared with roughly one million British. (Jean Palairet, *A Concise Description of the English and French Possessions in North-America, for the Better Explaining of the Map Published with That Title* [London: Printed by J. Haberkorn, 1755].)

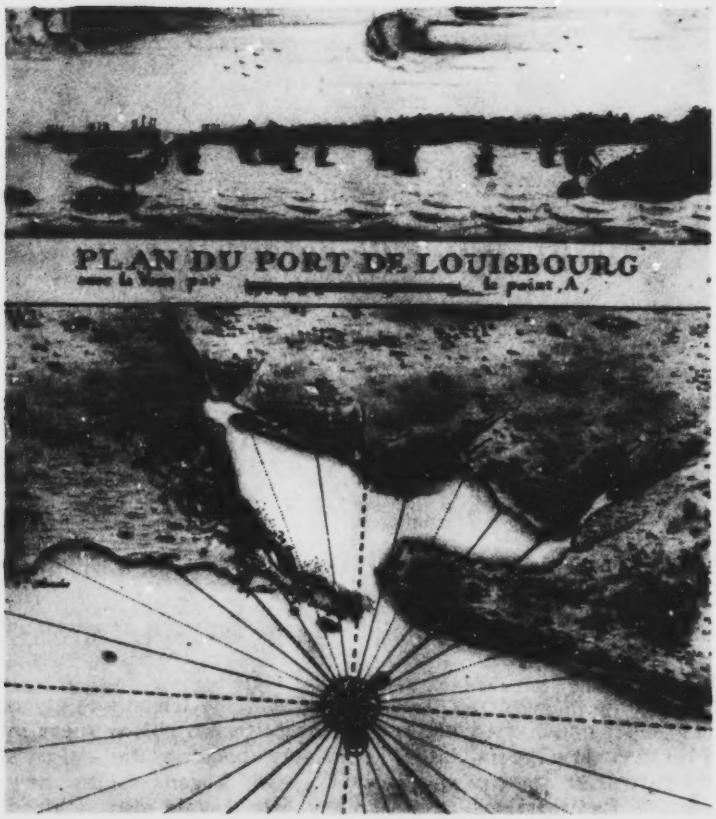
Preface

The purpose of this narrative is to give the reader a broad overview of the events that shaped the lives of the inhabitants of Louisbourg in the summer of 1744. In writing it I attempted from time to time to suggest in a general way what people's thoughts and feelings might have been at different points during the summer. Obviously such speculation cannot be applied with certainty to specific persons; the most that can be expected is a rough approximation of prevailing attitudes. It should be clear that individual reactions to the same event varied considerably and that as time passed and circumstances changed, the things about which people were concerned altered accordingly.

Atlantic Canada in 1744. An inverted map like this one demonstrates clearly the strategic role Louisbourg could have played as the "Guardian of the Gulf of St. Lawrence." The port was never able to fully capitalize on that potential because France failed to commit enough warships to the region. (Archives du Génie, Vincennes.)



Isle Royale. Formerly called Cap Breton, the island was given its grander name when the French established a colony there in 1713. A few years later Louisbourg became the colony's administrative centre and in 1719 work began on the new capital's fortifications. As a colony, Isle Royale also included the nearby island of Isle Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island). (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



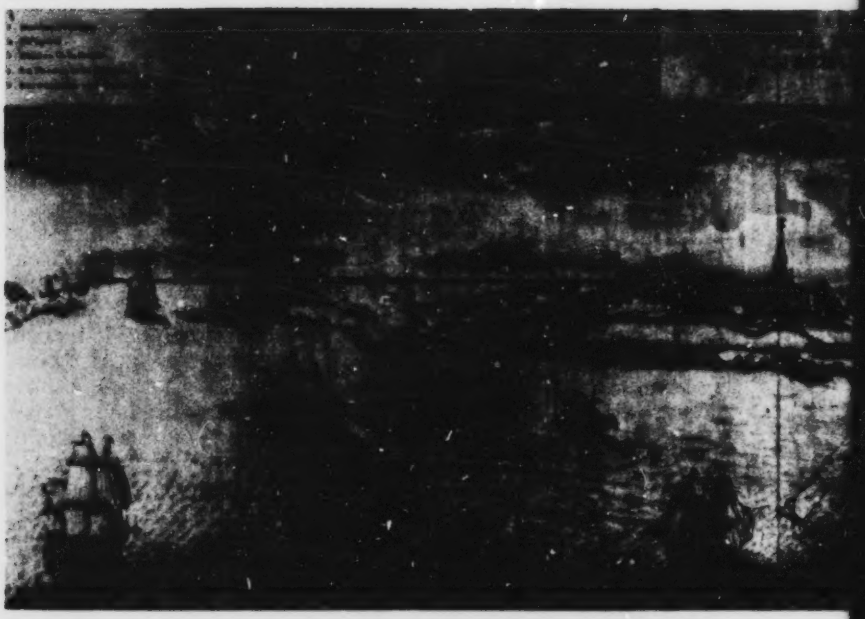
Louisbourg circa 1717: the settlement begins. Even in the beginning the harbour was full of ships. Close to both rich fishing banks and lucrative trade lanes, Louisbourg soon became one of the busiest ports in the New World. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Louisbourg and Isle Royale: An Explanatory Note

The colony of Isle Royale (which included modern Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island) was founded by the French in 1713 in the aftermath of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13). With Nova Scotia and Newfoundland ceded to Great Britain by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, France established the new colony with three major goals in mind: first, to be able to continue to exploit the valuable cod fishery; second, to develop a trading and transhipment centre for intercolonial and transatlantic trade, and third, to maintain a strategic base in the region. Within a few years of the establishment of Isle Royale, Louisbourg became the economic, strategic and administrative centre of the new colony.

Isle Royale was but one of numerous regions or sub-colonies which made up the larger colony of New France. The most populous and best-known of the regions was Canada, the area along the St. Lawrence from Montreal to just north of Quebec City. After 1713 other regions included Labrador, Louisiana, the *Postes du Roi* (from La Malbaie to Sept-Iles on the north shore of the St. Lawrence), the *Pays d'en Haut* or interior, and the "Western Sea." It was too vast a territory to be administered directly from Quebec City where the governor-general and intendant resided, so each sub-colony had its own government. In the case of Isle Royale, the senior positions in the government were a governor or commandant and a *commissaire-ordonnateur*, who generally corresponded directly with their superior in France, the minister of the Marine.

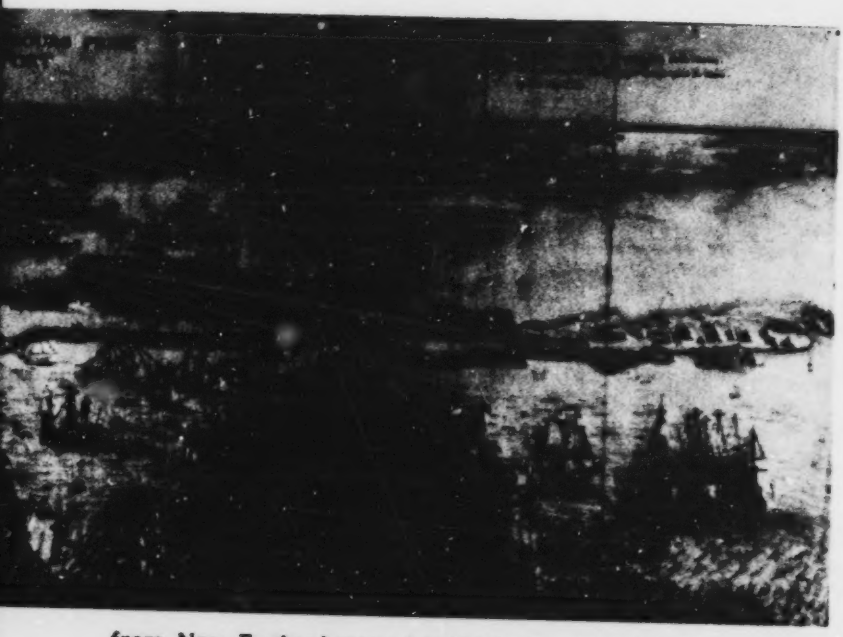
Although a formal colony was not established on Cape Breton until 1713, fishermen from France and other European countries had used its harbours on a seasonal basis from at least the early 1500s. The first attempt to begin a permanent settlement occurred in 1629 when a Scot, Lord Ochiltree, erected a fort at Baleine, just north of where Louisbourg would be founded 84 years later. Ochiltree's fort was destroyed by Charles Daniel, a French captain, soon after it was built. Daniel, that same summer of 1629, established a fort and small community of his own at St. Ann's, Cape Breton. The settlement there lasted about a dozen years. During the latter half of the 17th century Nicholas Denys established a small settle-



Louisbourg, 1731. In less than two decades the settlement had become a major colonial town. With its splendid architecture and massive fortifications, visiting merchants and fishermen

ment, including a fort, at St. Peter's. Fire destroyed that tiny community in 1668 and there were no colonizing efforts on the island before the founding of Isle Royale in 1713. At that time it was reported that there was but a single Frenchman and 25 to 30 Micmac families on the island.

The settlement party that sailed to Louisbourg in 1713 numbered about 250 men, women and children. By 1734



from New England were inevitably impressed by France's Isle Royale stronghold. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Louisbourg's military and civilian population was recorded to be 1683; three years later it was over 2000. There are no census data on the town for the 1740s but its population in 1744 is thought to have been between 2500 and 3000 people, an estimate that does not include the hundreds of sailors and fishermen who came into port during each shipping season.

The town and harbour. Drawn in 1742, this plan shows 18th-century Louisbourg in its entirety: the fortified town on the peninsula, the houses and fishing properties along the shore, the Royal and Island Batteries, the lighthouse and careening wharf and, of course, the spacious harbour. (Archives du Génie, Vincennes.)

An Introduction to 1744

To tell people that the Fortress of Louisbourg is a partial reconstruction of an 18th-century colonial town is not to tell them very much. Like any other century, the 18th was a complex era which suggests different things to different people. To some it means Washington, Jefferson and Franklin; to others Wolfe and Montcalm, Mozart and Haydn, Voltaire and Rousseau, Gainsborough and David, and so on. Visitors to the fortress bring with them their own perceptions of the 18th century, then they are told that they will see not an outdoor museum of a "typical" 18th-century town, but a reconstruction of a historic seaport and fortress at a very particular point in its history - the summer of 1744.

Seventeen forty-four. Doubtless the year itself means little to most people and they must surely wonder what it was about that year in Louisbourg's history that sets it apart from other years before and after it. Many must also wonder exactly where 1744 fits into their own perceptions of the 18th century. Was Louis XIV the King of France and was George III on the throne of Great Britain then? Was that when Mozart was writing music or when Constable was painting? Had Halifax been founded by that date? When they are informed that the answers to all of these questions are "no," they would probably appreciate some orientation as to who was who and what was happening in 1744.

They might be interested to learn that the estimated world population in 1744 was 700 million (of which less than one-thousandth of one per cent lived on Cape Breton, or as it was then known, Isle Royale). They would probably be surprised to be informed that in 1744 the French and British were using different calendars (respectively Gregorian and Julian), 11 days apart. When it turned 12 July in Louisbourg, Quebec or Paris, the inhabitants at Annapolis Royal, Boston or London considered the date to be 1 July. (The Gregorian calendar - followed in this report - was not adopted by Britain until 1752.)

Seventeen forty-four was the year which witnessed the deaths of English poet Alexander Pope and Swedish scientist Anders Celsius, inventor of the centigrade thermometer. In France the best-known living writers were Marivaux and Vol-

Town plan, 1744. Though this plan shows only royal buildings, not private dwellings, it does indicate the carefully laid-out block structure within the walls of Louisbourg. A couple of the features, the barracks near the Princess Demi-Bastion and the long storehouse (H), were still in the planning stages in 1744. (Archives du Génie, Vincennes.)

taire, while in Britain Samuel Richardson and Henry Fielding were the most popular novelists. The most celebrated composers in Europe were Handel and Bach, each of whom turned 59 in 1744. Haydn was only 12 years old and Mozart would not be born for another dozen years. The American colonies to the south of Louisbourg were passing through a widespread religious revival known as the "Great Awakening." In Virginia a boy named Thomas Jefferson celebrated his first birthday and George Washington his twelfth. In Europe Giovanni Casanova turned 19 and the future Marquis de Sade, four. It was one year before Charles Edward Stuart, "Bonnie Prince Charlie," led a Jacobite uprising in Scotland. It was the fourth year in which Pope Benedict XIV was head of the Roman Catholic Church and it was the fourth year of a dynastic and territorial war on the continent known today as the War of the Austrian Succession.

In the spring of 1744 that war spread officially to North America when Louis XV of France and George II of Great Britain declared war on each other. (The American phase of the war is often referred to as King George's War.) Word of the outbreak of war between France and Britain reached Louisbourg in early May. Before the end of the month an expedition from the capital of Isle Royale had captured the British fishing settlement at Canso. Extensive privateering began shortly thereafter. What happened in the four months that followed is the subject of this study.

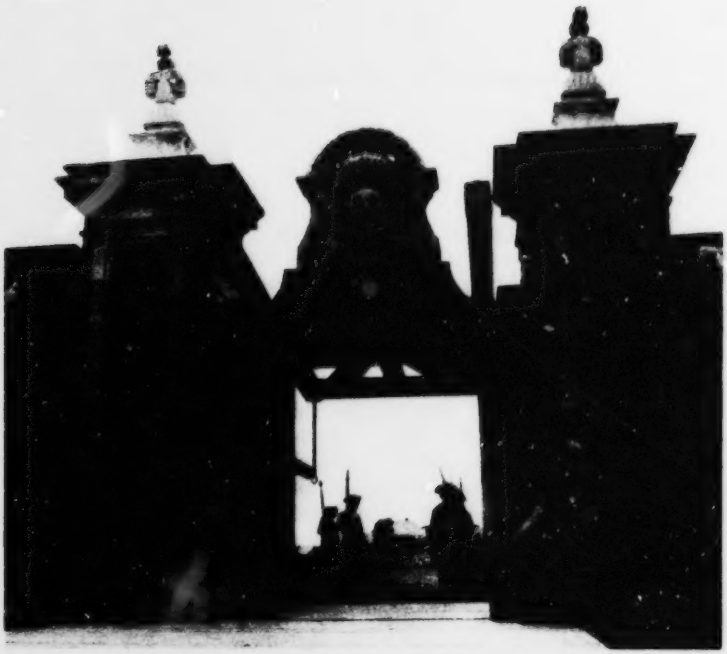
Background to the Summer of 1744

The Spring of 1744

Like other springs before it, the spring of 1744 was a season of hope tinged with some anxiety for the inhabitants of Louisbourg.[1] People scanned the horizon daily looking for the sails of approaching vessels, vessels from France that would end the long months of Isle Royale's isolation from the world overseas. Their immediate concern was food. Food shortages every spring were an accepted aspect of life in Louisbourg, but in 1744 the situation was worse than normal. For reasons unknown to the colonists, the hundreds of Basque fishermen who usually came out early each spring with additional supplies of food had not yet arrived. Supplies were so low in the colonial capital that the poorer residents were reduced in mid-April to surviving on shellfish. In the nearby outports the situation was even worse, with many households facing starvation. By the beginning of May the government storehouse contained only enough provisions for another few weeks and some foresaw violent protest as those stocks were used up.

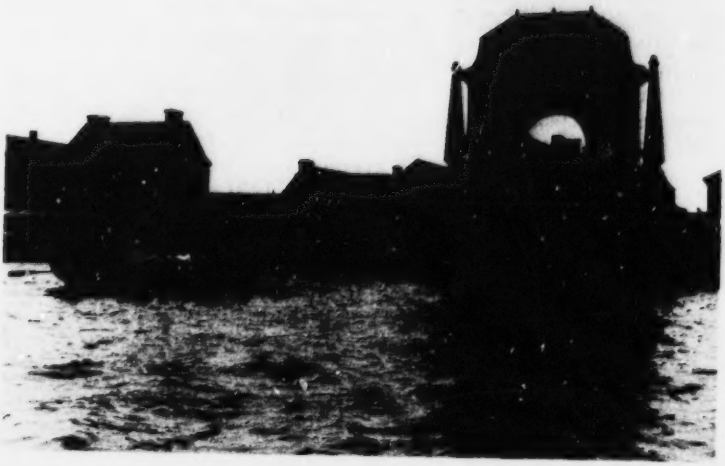
The people capable of looking beyond immediate worries about food shortages and possible unrest had other problems to consider. For several years the cod fishery, the foundation upon which the colonial economy had been developed, had declined significantly. Fish landings in 1743 were up slightly over those in 1742 but remained well below (roughly 40 per cent) the catches recorded during the 1730s.[2] Every colonist prayed that the reduced landings were no more than a temporary trend, due mostly to the tense international situation.

Since 1739 there had been persistent rumours of an imminent war with Great Britain and the mere possibility of hostilities had deterred many seasonal fishermen from making the transatlantic crossing to Isle Royale, resulting in reduced fish catches. If war were declared, the situation would only worsen. Indeed, during 1743 the fishermen who worked the southern coast of Isle Royale, from Petit de Grat to Fourchu, must almost have felt as if war had already broken out. Throughout the summer fishing season they had been harassed



The main landward entrance to Louisbourg, the Porte Dauphine, was both decorative and defensible, with a drawbridge, musket loopholes and a round-the-clock detachment of guards. (Photo by D. Crawford.)

by a British warship, HMS *Kinsale*, stationed at Canso. The *Kinsale* patrolled the waters off Canso and southern Isle Royale all that summer and fall trying to intercept vessels transporting contraband livestock or other foodstuffs from the Acadians living under British rule. One of the vessels captured that summer and taken to the British base at Canso belonged to Louis du Pont Duchambon, king's lieutenant for Isle Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island). The vessel was eventually released after a representation was made to the British authorities at Canso, but its capture indicates how strained Anglo-French relations in the colonies had become by 1743.



Porte Frédéric. Nearly everyone who visited Louisbourg in the 18th century came by water. As the harbour was too shallow for large ships to anchor near the quay, passengers, crew and cargo came ashore in small boats. (Photo by D. Crawford.)

The parent countries had narrowly avoided going to war with each other in 1739 and ever since then only a tentative peace had existed between the two powers. Never was that peace more fragile than after French and British armies, as allies to other combattants in the continental war over the succession to the Austrian throne, battled each other at Dettingen in June 1743. Aware of the conflict at Dettingen, the inhabitants of Louisbourg must have watched the last ship bound for France sail out of the harbour in 1743 and wondered whether or not the first ship to return the following spring would bring with it news of war.

On 3 May 1744 the sail of a small ship approaching Louisbourg was spotted on the horizon. As the ship drew closer and gradually made its way into the harbour, large numbers of people must have gathered anxiously along the quay. A few

would have rowed out in small boats to meet the vessel and shout their questions. Did it carry any surplus food? Had the crew seen a fleet of Basque or French fishing boats? Was there still peace with the British? The answers were not reassuring. France had been at war with Great Britain for a month and a half, because of the war the Basque fishermen were not coming out this season and, yes, the ship carried some surplus food but not in great quantities.

Reactions to the news were undoubtedly varied. Few would have been surprised by the king's declaration of war, but fewer still would have been comforted by it. To those colonists who remembered the defeats and ensuing hardships of the last war (the War of the Spanish Succession, 1701-13, also known as Queen Anne's War), news of another conflict was dismaying. They had witnessed many accomplishments, both public and private, in the three decades of peace that had followed the Treaty of Utrecht. The most noteworthy of these achievements was the transformation of the small fishing settlement at Havre à l'Anglois into the fortified town of Louisbourg, one of the busiest ports on the North Atlantic and home to roughly 2500-3000 merchants, tradesmen, civil servants, soldiers and fishermen. The future of the town, of the colony of Isle Royale of which it was the capital and of the thousands of individuals who lived there was now placed in jeopardy by the outbreak of a new war. Terre Neuve (Newfoundland) and Acadia (Nova Scotia) had been lost to the British in the last war. Who knew what the fate of Isle Royale would be at the end of this new struggle? To be sure, the fortifications at Louisbourg were impressive, but one could never be sure of the future until a war was over and the treaty signed.

Younger inhabitants in the colony, particularly junior officers hopeful of rapid promotion, probably welcomed the news and the opportunities that a war could offer. Similarly, some merchants quickly began to make plans for outfitting privateers, envisioning the tremendous profits that could be gained. In contrast, the many people dependent on the fishery could see little good in the news. They knew immediately that war would mean reduced catches, greater hardships and, for those who went to sea, the possibility of capture or death at the hands of their British enemies. As for the poorest inhabitants, as long as their stomachs were empty, long-range speculation about the future was pointless. If it meant anything, the news meant the probability of increased suffering for them as the colony's supply lines became more vulnerable.

The concerns of the colonists, particularly those dealing with food, which had been so much on the minds of the commandant, Jean-Baptiste-Louis Le Prévost Duquesnel, and the *commissaire-ordonnateur*, François Bigot, throughout the spring, were temporarily set aside as the two officials read the despatches of the minister of the Marine, the Comte de Maurepas, that the ship from Saint-Malo had brought. Maurepas could only give them general directions on how to proceed; on the specifics Duquesnel and Bigot would have to make their own decisions. The 31-year-old colony in their care was now facing its first test in wartime. As they looked ahead to the summer of 1744, the colonial officials could foresee many difficult and crucial decisions to be made. It would be a summer of risk and uncertainty, a summer unlike any other thus far in the history of the colony.

The War

Who were the participants in the war? What were they fighting over? When had it begun?[3]

In October 1739 a trade war broke out between Spain and Great Britain over matters relating to sovereignty and commerce in the West Indies. (This war is now known as either the Anglo-Spanish War or the War of Jenkins' Ear, so called because of the pro-war propaganda surrounding a British sailor named Robert Jenkins, who claimed to have had his ear torn or cut off by the crew of a Spanish coast-guard vessel in 1731.) For a combination of reasons, the most important of which was commercial self-interest, France's sympathies lay with Spain in the war. It has been estimated that from one-half to seven-ninths "of all the commodities which the galleons and *flotas* regularly conveyed to Spanish America came from France."[4] French officials realized that if Britain prevailed in the war, most or all of that valuable trade might be lost. Secondly, the Spanish monarch, Philip V, was an uncle of Louis XV of France. Finally, the continental European political scene was stable at the time, with France in a position of unquestioned superiority. As a result, Cardinal Fleury, Louis XV's prime minister, believed that France could safely concentrate its resources on a maritime war in support of Spain.

In late August 1740 Louis XV and Cardinal Fleury sent two powerful battle squadrons, with a combined total of 33 vessels, to the West Indies with instructions to destroy the British fleet there and invade Jamaica. Before the commanders of the

French fleet could carry out their instructions, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Hapsburg Charles VI, died unexpectedly in October 1740. Overnight the political balance on the continent became uncertain. France's political and military priorities suddenly reverted to continental Europe and the naval expedition intended to strike a blow at Great Britain in the West Indies was recalled.

The reason why the death of Charles VI created such a stir in Europe was that he had no male heir. Charles had laboured throughout the latter years of his reign to have his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, accepted by every continental state as the legitimate heir to his Hapsburg possessions. As a woman she could not be elected Holy Roman Emperor, but her father had undoubtedly hoped that her husband might obtain that title. Each ruler except the elector of Bavaria agreed to the arrangement, known as the Pragmatic Sanction. Nonetheless, with the death of Charles VI all of Europe waited to see if the agreements would actually be honoured. France, with no desire for a continental war, quickly recognized the 23-year-old Maria Theresa as ruler of Austria and the other Hapsburg dominions.

While the various rulers and statesmen of Europe wondered how Maria Theresa's accession to the Hapsburg throne would alter the balance of power on the continent, the youthful king of a relatively minor state prepared to take advantage of the situation. In late 1740, two months after Charles's death, the king of Prussia, Frederick II, who had himself only been on the Prussian throne since May 1740, sent his troops into Silesia. Striking suddenly with an army which was, thanks to the efforts of his father, Frederick William I, the best-trained force in Europe, the Prussian ruler quickly conquered Silesia. The conflict that has become known as the War of the Austrian Succession had begun.

On Isle Royale the war may have been referred to as a war with the Queen of Hungary or as a war over the succession to the Austrian throne, or perhaps simply as the war on the continent. In any case, the colonists were aware of the struggle and of France's involvement in it, albeit probably not in any great detail due to the gulf in time and space that separated the colony from events in Europe.

Cardinal Fleury vainly attempted to keep his country from becoming involved in the conflict but too many influential Frenchmen yearned to join the war against Maria Theresa and their traditional Austrian enemies. In June 1741 France joined into an alliance with Prussia, which resulted in direct French military intervention in the growing struggle. Soon French

armies were to be found in Austria, Bavaria and various small German states. Joined with France at one time or another in this war of shifting alliances were Prussia, Bavaria, Spain and Saxony, each of which had hopes of acquiring Hapsburg possessions. Frederick II's troops were already occupying Silesia; Louis XV was hopeful of obtaining the Netherlands; Philip V looked for acquisitions on the Italian peninsula; the elector of Bavaria sought to win Austria, Tyrol and Bohemia, and the elector of Saxony wanted Moravia.

January 1742 was the high point of the war for France when the French-backed candidate for Holy Roman Emperor, the elector of Bavaria, Charles Albert, was elected Charles VII of the Empire. Even George II of Great Britain, in his capacity as elector of Hanover, had been among those who voted for the French candidate. The news brought to Isle Royale during the summer of 1742 probably indicated that the anti-Austrian coalition headed by France was doing well in the war.

However, later in 1742 Frederick II withdrew from the conflict after Maria Theresa accepted his conquest of Silesia in return for peace with him, leaving France virtually alone to face the Austrian armies. That same year Great Britain gave additional support to Maria Theresa, both in terms of soldiers and financing. In June 1743, British forces, composed largely of Hanoverians and Hessians, won a victory at Dettingen over a French army. (At the time, it must be remembered, Britain and France were not at war with each other, they were simply allied to opposite sides in the war.) Then, in September 1743, British Prime Minister Lord Carteret persuaded Maria Theresa to concede a large portion of Lombardy (in what is now Italy) to the King of Sardinia, Charles Emmanuel III, in return for Sardinia's entry into the war on Austria's side.

The agreement disappointed and angered France, which had hoped Sardinia would join the anti-Austrian coalition. British involvement in Sardinian affairs added yet another irritant in Anglo-French relations. The two powers had nearly gone to war in 1739 in the Anglo-Spanish War; their interests and aspirations were clashing all over Europe in the struggle over the Austrian succession; their armies had already met at Dettingen. How long would it be before war officially broke out between them? Sometime during the winter of 1743-44 France decided to declare war on Great Britain, turning the struggle on the European continent into a global conflict involving the imperial possessions of both powers. On 15 March 1744 France made its declaration and on 3 May word of it reached Louisbourg.

The ordinance issued by Louis XV on 15 March 1744 officially put France at war with George II's Great Britain. Copies of the ordinance arrived in Louisbourg in May and were posted in various locations, including, as depicted here, at the entrance to the royal storehouse. (Photo by D. Crawford.)

One imagines that after the initial excitement of the war news had passed, the inhabitants of Louisbourg turned their attention back to the concerns of their normal daily lives. Duquesnel and Bigot were not so fortunate; the many difficulties they faced in governing the colony in peacetime were now made much worse by war.[5]

To begin with, there was the immediate problem of the food shortage. A few days after the arrival of the news of war, the colonial officials learned that the fishermen of La Baleine and Lorembec who had come into the capital were threatening to seize the available provisions by force. They were being supported in this talk by at least some of the fishermen and poor of Louisbourg. Duquesnel was able to prevent open insurrection by distributing a limited quantity of food and placing additional guards on the storehouses.[6] The commandant realized the crisis would be over as soon as a supply ship from France arrived in port, but he also recognized that henceforth the provisioning of Louisbourg would become much more difficult. Indeed, the current shortage would have been worse had not François Du Pont Duvivier been sent to Canso in August 1743 to arrange for the purchase of 80 000 *livres'* worth of New England foodstuffs.[7] With war declared, such emergency purchases from New England obviously became impossible. Once the hostilities began in earnest, especially privateering raids on French shipping, even the routine arrival of supplies from France, Canada or the Acadians on the Nova Scotian mainland would become uncertain.

Provisioning problems facing the colony in the spring of 1744 became further complicated for Bigot when a confidential despatch from Maurepas informed him that valuable cargo-laden ships from the East Indies would be sailing into Louisbourg harbour in June or early July. Bigot was instructed to supply these ships, belonging to the *Compagnie des Indes*, with fresh meat and other provisions necessary for their voyage home to France.[8] By elimination, the only possible source for the needed supplies in sufficient quantities lay with the Acadians in Nova Scotia. The obvious problem with that source was that the British had shown their determination in 1743 to curtail the illicit trade between the Acadians and Isle Royale through the patrols of armed vessels based at Canso and the patrols would only become more vigilant with the outbreak of war. Therefore the solution to the colony's provisioning diffi-

Standing in front of the King's Bastion guardhouse are representatives of the three principal ranks of the troops of the Ministry of the Marine, the *Compagnies franches de la Marine*: the officers (on the left), the non-commissioned officers (in the centre with their halberds) and the ordinary enlisted men (behind and to the right). In 1744 over 700 men were in the Louisbourg garrison. (Photo by J. Marchand.)

culties for 1744, and subsequent years, necessarily involved military action.

Questions of food supply aside, other compelling factors in May 1744 argued the need for prompt and decisive military action. Foremost among these factors were Maurepas's instructions to Duquesnel and Bigot on the course they were to follow in the war. First, the minister stressed the need to have armed privateers out to sea as quickly as possible, capitalizing on the unpreparedness of the enemy: "the first moments of the hostilities will be the most valuable for the success of these ventures." Maurepas enclosed blank commissions for anyone who could be encouraged to take up privateering. Second, the colonial officials were directed to do everything in their power to protect the valuable fishery and commerce of Isle Royale.

Two ships would be sent to the island sometime later to assist in the defence of French interests, but for the time being Duquesnel and Bigot were to use whatever resources were available to them.[9]

Maurepas made no mention of launching an attack against the British settlements in Nova Scotia, but he did not have to. Expeditions against Nova Scotia had been discussed on a number of occasions in the past, both with the current colonial officials and with their predecessors. To Duquesnel and to the senior officers in the garrison at Louisbourg whose advice he sought, the timing for striking at Nova Scotia, particularly Canso, would probably never be better than it was in May 1744. Not only would it satisfy Maurepas's instructions to wage an aggressive offensive, but, if they acted quickly enough, they were likely to catch the small garrison at Canso totally unprepared. Once Canso was captured, the British would be without a shore base near Isle Royale from which privateers or warships could operate against vessels heading for the French colony. The shipping lane from the Acadians to Louisbourg would be safe at least temporarily, thereby alleviating short-term worries about provisions. An added benefit of a successful expedition against Canso would be the psychological lift it would give to the inhabitants of Isle Royale who had suffered through an anxious spring and to their Micmac allies on the mainland who, seeing the French initiative, might be especially responsive to later French requests for assistance in a campaign against Annapolis Royal.

The arguments in favor of a military expedition to Canso were overwhelming. Probably within a week or ten days of the first news of war arriving in Louisbourg the decision to attack was reached and the town bustled with activity as the expedition was hastily organized so that it could make the most of the element of surprise. Men had to be recruited to accompany the professional soldiers; firearms and small cannons prepared; vessels rented and outfitted; supplies purchased, stockpiled and loaded aboard the rented vessels, and dozens of other small tasks accomplished. Twenty days after the arrival of the ship from Saint-Malo, the expedition was ready, at a cost to the king's treasury of slightly over 26 000 *livres*.[10] The tiny armada consisted of 17 vessels (two privateers, a supply sloop and 14 fishing boats) and carried a total of 351 men (22 officers, 117 soldiers, and 212 men recruited principally from fishermen). François Du Pont Duvivier, captain of one of the *Compagnies franches* in Louisbourg, was chosen to command the expedition.

These youthful soldiers of the *Compagnies franches* are enjoying a moment of relaxation before their daily inspection. They are wearing their blue waistcoats but not their grey greatcoats. (Photo by M. LeBlanc.)

On Saturday, 23 May, likely following a public blessing from the quay by the Recollet curé of Louisbourg, Athanase Guégot, the flotilla sailed out of the harbour bound for Canso. That very day a merchant vessel out of Glasgow arrived in Boston carrying the first news of the war to the American colonists. As the French had hoped, they would be attacking a settlement that was weakly defended at the best of times and that was still unaware that war had been declared.

While it was still dark on the morning of 14 May, the force from Louisbourg anchored off Canso and prepared for the assault. Ashore were a few fishermen, a detachment of soldiers of the Phillipps Regiment, and a number of women and children. The only fortification was a timber blockhouse. Around dawn the French began their attack. As the cannons aboard the two privateers bombarded the blockhouse, the men in the fishing vessels readied themselves to land. The Canso detachment commander, Captain Patrick Heron, quickly surrendered, realizing resistance was hopeless. Lieutenant George Ryall, in an armed sloop, held out briefly but capitulated after losing one man and having three or four others injured. The terms of surrender were soon agreed upon: the soldiers of the Phillipps Regiment were to be held prisoner in Louisbourg until May 1745 and the women and children sent to Boston as soon as possible. "After loading the not inconsiderable booty on to the ships, together with the prisoners, the French put to the torch all the buildings at Canso harbour."[11]

The arrival back in Louisbourg must have been tremendously exciting. As soon as the sails of the vessels were spotted, the senior officers in the garrison and the commandant would have been notified. Soon after, the entire town would have been aware of the approaching fleet. The increased size of the fleet - several British vessels were now included - indicated that the expedition had been a success. As the vessels slowly made their way into the harbour, hundreds of people undoubtedly crowded along the quay. By the time the leaders of the French expedition disembarked, Duquesnel and his staff officers must have been there to greet them and receive a quick briefing on the expedition.

Pleased as the French officials were with the success of the colony's first military action, they now faced the immediate problem of housing and feeding the prisoners for the next year. There were far too many - over 100 - for them to be accommodated in the military prisons. Some might be detained aboard small boats moored in the harbour, but for the majority Duquesnel and Bigot decided to rent several buildings in town

and convert them into prisons. As for feeding the English, the memory of the severe food shortage in the spring was still fresh in everyone's mind. The situation had improved with the recent arrival of ships from France, the capture of foodstuffs at Canso and the opening of the trading lane to the Acadians, but there was certainly no over-abundance of provisions.

As a result, Bigot set the daily rations of the prisoners at a modest pound of bread, four ounces of cod and four ounces of pork.[12] The prisoners soon found the fare unsatisfactory but that was hardly a concern for the French officials. However, sensibility for the rights of the British was shown to the officers of the Phillipps Regiment. As was appropriate in an age ever mindful of the needs and prerogatives of the upper strata of society - any society - the officers were given a degree of freedom and allowed to make their own arrangements for better meals. According to a subsequent report in a Boston newspaper, "It cost the Officers who were at Liberty about seven pounds a Week, for which they had good Ragoo and Soup, but cannot boast much about their Roast Beef."[13]

May probably drew to a close with celebrations of Duvivier's success at Canso. It had been a remarkable month, as the mood of the town shifted from anxiety and uncertainty at its beginning to joy and relief at its end. Everyone wondered what June would bring.

The War: A New Phase

With the victory at Canso behind them, the Isle Royale officials quickly turned their attention to a new phase of the war: preying on the commerce of their enemy. In the minister of the Marine's initial despatch concerning the outbreak of hostilities between France and Great Britain he had stressed the need for Duquesnel and Bigot to do everything they could to encourage this kind of war.[1] For his part Maurepas had supplied the blank commissions that gave legal authorization to privateering. While necessary, such commissions were hardly sufficient. Faced with a shortage of small cannons, pistols, swords and axes, Duquesnel and Bigot found themselves unable to promote privateering to the extent they wished. Initially they even delayed posting the king's ordinance encouraging it,[2] apparently to ensure the success of the Canso expedition. Because of the shortage of light ordnance and small arms, very few vessels could be properly outfitted and those that could be outfitted were first and foremost needed on the expedition to Canso. Once that venture was over, privateering by Louisbourg-based vessels could begin.[3] By the end of May that time had arrived.

The first French privateers in action enjoyed the same advantage that the expedition to Canso had enjoyed: the element of surprise. News of the outbreak of war had not arrived in Boston until 23 May, while the first accounts of the raid on Canso did not reach Boston until around 10 June.[4] Hence, from late May until the middle of June there were many unarmed New England boats working the fishing banks off Nova Scotia and Isle Royale whose crews, even if they were aware that war had been declared, may not have known that hostilities had already begun. A good example of such an unsuspecting attitude is that displayed by the crew of the British brigantine later identified as the *Deux Frères*. On 12 June the crew of a French privateer or *corsaire* called the *Marie Joseph*, whose captain was Pierre Detcheverry, sighted a British vessel fishing on the banks. Having decided among themselves to attempt a capture, Detcheverry and his crew approached the brigantine

and asked for some bread. The crew obligingly lowered their sails and allowed a small group of French aboard. The French then overpowered the British crew and took the brigantine and its cargo as a prize.[5]

Even when British vessels were aware of the war they remained extremely vulnerable when compared with the armed French privateers, as is well illustrated by an incident at Canso harbour on 4 June. A French privateer called the *Signe* sailed into the harbour and spotted a boat flying a French flag. The *Signe*'s captain, François Bauchet de Saint-Martin, asked the crew of the vessel to identify themselves. When they replied that they were British and had come to fish, Saint-Martin asked them to surrender to him, which they did immediately. The fact that the vessel was flying a French flag probably indicates that they were aware of the war but hoped not to be interfered with by French privateers, an ill-founded hope as it turned out.

The capture at Canso on 4 June by Saint-Martin was the first of seven that he and his crew would make over the next nine days. Sailing off the coast from Canso to Sable Island, Saint-Martin enjoyed great success in capturing the small, unarmed, fishing boats working the banks. In most cases Saint-Martin had to chase them and convince them to surrender by firing several musket shots in their general direction. In none of the incidents did the fishermen fire back, presumably because they had no muskets. After each capture except one, Saint-Martin placed several of his armed men aboard the prize to ensure that it made its way to Louisbourg. The exception occurred on 11 June when he decided to transfer the cargo from one prize to the hold of another taken the day before, probably because he was running short of men he could spare to take charge of it.[6]

By the middle of June everyone in Louisbourg was aware of the string of captures enjoyed by Saint-Martin and the *Signe*. The prizes with their cargoes of cod, salt and fish oil had all arrived in the capital by 14 June. Although Saint-Martin was not the only successful privateer,[7] he was certainly the most successful. His remarkable example encouraged others in Louisbourg to outfit their own privateers in order to take full advantage of the opportunities for profit on the high seas. However, they would have been well advised to guard against overzealousness, considering what happened to Jean Fougères. Fougères, of Port Toulouse, had captured a British schooner near the Canso Islands on 11 June without possessing an authorized commission as a privateer. In its place he had handwritten permission from Pierre Benoist, the commandant

at Port Toulouse. When Fougères later brought his prize to Louisbourg, it was confiscated because he had not been properly licensed.[8]

Although optimistic about capturing prizes, the financial backers and crews of the privateers outfitted at Louisbourg after mid-June realized that they could no longer count on the unpreparedness of British vessels. Moreover, they recognized that the next phase of privateering would have to take place many more leagues to the south, farther from Louisbourg and closer to the "busy shipping lanes to and from Boston."[9] Finally, everyone knew that it was only a matter of time before British privateers would be out to sea in search of French prizes.

As a result of the increased dangers, the French privateers that were outfitted in the latter half of June were larger and better armed than those active in the first half of the month. Where Saint-Martin's *Signe* was armed only with muskets, the later privateers carried artillery. The number of cannons depended principally upon the size of the vessel and the willingness of the investors to buy available ordnance. In the case of the *Cantabre*, which had taken part in the Canso expedition and was outfitted as a privateer in mid-June at a cost of over 17 500 *livres*, eight cannons and eight swivel guns were purchased by its backers. In contrast, the *St. Charles*, outfitted at the same time for over 6300 *livres* by most of the same investors, carried only two cannons. The men who provided much of the financial backing for these two privateers, and possibly for others that summer, were none other than Bigot, Duquesnel and François Duvivier who, besides being an officer, was well known for his involvement in merchant trade.[10] Doubtless they were open to possible conflict-of-interest charges by investing in privateers, but one suspects that they were prepared to rationalize such investments as one of the best ways in which they could help the colony, and therefore France, in the war effort against the British.

Privateering, incidentally, was not necessarily directed against all British shipping. Two vessels from New England which had brought flour to the colony in the spring of 1744, in accordance with an agreement made in December 1743 and in spite of the war, were given protection from French privateers and king's ships. On 21 June 1744, probably a day or so before the two vessels sailed from Louisbourg, the captains were given handwritten *laissez-passer* signed by Duquesnel and Bigot.[11]

In addition to encouraging the Louisbourg-based privateers, Duquesnel and Bigot took steps to protect the commercial and fishing interests of Isle Royale from possible British aggression.

Many officers in the Louisbourg garrison invested in the fishery and merchant trade of Isle Royale. There would have been frequent consultations between the officers, like the man on the left, and their merchant associates. (Photo by D. Crawford.)

Commencing on 10 June, a schooner called the *Succès* was rented at 1400 *livres* per month from merchant Jean-Baptiste Lannelongue to serve as a coast-guard ship. This same vessel had been used in the expedition against Canso, at which time Lannelongue was paid 1500 *livres* for its use.[12] Pierre Morpain, port captain at Louisbourg since 1715, was selected to com-

mand the *Succès*. Fifty-eight years old in 1744, Morpain was probably the best person to command the coast guard. During the War of the Spanish Succession he had captured prize after prize in the waters off New England and Acadia, and his name was still known and feared by New England merchants.[13]

Before Morpain and the 106-man crew of the *Succès* could begin patrolling the waters off Isle Royale, the schooner had to be outfitted. As with the Canso expedition and the housing and feeding of the British prisoners at Louisbourg, here was an opportunity for additional income for the many retailers and wholesalers in the capital. During the four and one-half months (10 June to 21 October 1744) that the *Succès* was commissioned as the coast guard of Isle Royale, more than 32 000 *livres*' worth of goods and services were purchased out of the king's treasury.[14] Among the many supplies purchased were swivel guns, medical supplies obtained from the Brothers of Charity, firewood, hardtack, wine (3000 *livres*' worth, mostly red wine from Bordeaux), Holland cheese, and a small quantity of fresh meat for any sailors who might fall ill.[15] The initial provisions and supplies were probably all aboard by the middle of June and sometime thereafter Morpain and the crew of the *Succès* sailed out of Louisbourg harbour to begin their patrols.

Although most of the French officials' attention was on the war at sea, the possibility of future hostilities on land was not completely overlooked. In early June a vessel was sent to Port Toulouse (St. Peter's) with supplies for the troops garrisoned there. On its return voyage a few days later, the boat brought back to Louisbourg six cannons. (A month later a similar trip was made to Port Dauphin [Englishtown] to bring back to the capital all of the cannons and shot from that post.) In addition to concentrating available ordnance in the stronghold of Isle Royale, the colonial officials took care to cultivate their alliance with the Micmacs. Towards the end of June, supplies of tobacco and other goods were purchased for subsequent distribution to those valuable allies.[16]

By the end of June the military strategists on Isle Royale could look back on another month of definite successes. French privateering had virtually driven all British vessels from nearby waters, although not before more than a dozen prizes had been taken and some considerable profits made. In July the war on British commerce would begin in the waters off Massachusetts, admittedly a more dangerous zone, but one with an even greater potential for profits because of the many merchant vessels sailing to and from Boston. There was also talk of an

Hobnailing his shoes to make them last longer was only one of the typical soldier's off-duty responsibilities. He was also required to make repairs to his uniform, keep his musket clean and in working order, and do his share of the cleaning and cooking in the barracks room. (Photo by M. LeBlanc.)

The *Compagnies franches de la Marine* were organized on a company basis, not a regimental one. Each company had its own captain, who administered its affairs and looked after the welfare of its soldiers. In any army, in any age, paperwork is always required. (Photo by A. MacNeil.)

expedition to Annapolis Royal. Perhaps that plan would be set in action in July.

To date the wartime response of the New Englanders, at least in so far as it affected Isle Royale, was negligible. What preparations and discussions had gone on in the American colonies throughout June were, of course, unknown to the inhabitants of Isle Royale. On 11 June Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts had outlined a policy of defence to the General Court of the colony. Among his recommendations was a proposal to send reinforcements to Annapolis Royal for he believed that the French were likely to strike at the principal British settlement on Nova Scotia before the summer was over. The House of Representatives showed no enthusiasm for his proposal until news of the fall of Canso reached them. Then, on 23 June, the House voted to have two independent 60-man companies of volunteers raised in Massachusetts and sent to Annapolis Royal. Recruiting did not go well as prospective volunteers demanded more bounty money than was offered. Late in June Shirley received a letter from the lieutenant governor of Annapolis Royal, Paul Mascarene, in which the desperate plight of the Nova Scotian capital was outlined. Fearful of an imminent attack by the French and their Indian allies, Mascarene urged that 200 men be sent to Nova Scotia as soon as possible. On the last day of the month Shirley again appealed to the House of Representatives to do all it could to send the reinforcements needed at Annapolis.[17]

Life in Town

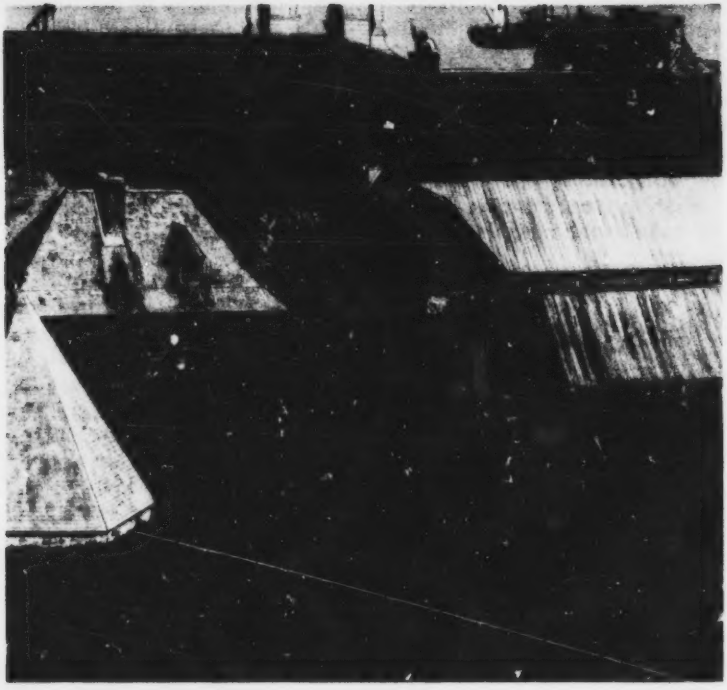
The two dominant features of life in Louisbourg in June were each related to the war. The first of these was the coming and going of ships and boats in the harbour. The port had always been busy and the arrival of vessels had always been newsworthy, but there was now an air of excitement about the harbour traffic that had never been known before. Supply ships, fishing boats and all other types of craft were greeted with inquiries not just about their cargoes but also about what they had seen or heard of the enemy's movements. Rumours abounded, some of which were more or less true and others of which were either exaggerated or simply false.[18] It was the inhabitants' task to sift the probable from the improbable.

Of all the incoming vessels, the ones that received the greatest attention were probably those carrying reports on the activities of the Louisbourg privateers. The men providing the

financial backing, commanding, and manning the privateers were known to most of the inhabitants and there was a natural interest in how they were doing. Curiosity was transformed into pride for the Louisbourgeois when their fellow colonists brought prize after prize into the harbour. Coming so soon after the early capture of Canso, the string of privateering successes must have made many in the capital feel confident of the outcome of the war. The only unwelcome aspect of the French privateering was that it led inevitably to a steady increase in the number of British prisoners.

The growth of the British presence constituted the second dominant feature of life in Louisbourg in June. The prisoners had been a problem for the Louisbourg officials since the arrival of the group from Canso in late May. According to the terms of capitulation at Canso, the prisoners, except women and children, were to be detained in Louisbourg until May 1745. The initial problems encountered by the Louisbourg officials in feeding and housing those prisoners were exacerbated each time a prize and its crew were brought into port. As the numbers of British grew, so did the worries of Duquesnel and Bigot, principally about the depletion of foodstocks in the capital. Consequently, during June 1744 the commandant and *commissaire-ordonnateur* decided to put out the first overtures to Governor Shirley about a possible exchange of prisoners.[19] The French prisoners in question were held in Boston and were fishermen and sailors off vessels from France and the West Indies who had been captured by British and New England vessels.

The man selected to take Duquesnel's offer to Boston was John Bradstreet, an officer in the Phillipps Regiment, who had been captured at Canso. Bradstreet was well-known and, more importantly, probably trusted in Louisbourg. Not only had he been involved in extensive mercantile trade with Louisbourg over the 1730s and early 1740s, but also he was related to several prominent people in the town.[20] Born at Annapolis Royal in 1714, where he was baptised Jean-Baptiste, Bradstreet was the son of a British officer and a French mother, Agathe de Saint-Etienne de La Tour. Whether on business or simply visiting his de La Tour relatives (in 1739 he was present at the wedding of a distant relation),[21] Bradstreet apparently moved easily in the upper strata of Louisbourg society. He was the natural choice for someone to carry Duquesnel's offer of a prisoner exchange to Shirley. Once Bradstreet had been chosen to go to Boston, his fellow British officers pressed him to ask



A sentry (centre) outside the storehouse of Jean-François Eurry de la Pérelle marks it as one of the three locations where the British were imprisoned during the summer of 1744. (Painting by L. Parker; photo by A. Fennell.)

the Massachusetts authorities to send provisions to Louisbourg to supplement their French rations.[22]

Bradstreet did not set off on his mission until early July[23] so throughout June he was a familiar sight in Louisbourg, as were the other British officers who were similarly at liberty. The activities of these officers and of the rest of the British prisoners must have been closely followed by the people of the town. While there had been many visiting New England ship captains and merchants in Louisbourg over the years, never before had there been so many British there at one time or in such circumstances. The style of clothes the British officers

Loaves weighing six *livres*, a four-days' ration for each of the soldiers of the garrison, were prepared in the king's bakery. Once loaves had risen sufficiently, they were baked in one of the two ovens along the rear wall. (Photo by D. Crawford.)

wore, how they carried themselves, where they ate, who among the French they associated with and many other aspects about them would have been popular conversation topics in the capital that summer, and there was undoubtedly more gossip about Bradstreet than anyone else. Here was a young man who probably spoke French, was familiar with the town, knew most of the French officers (was even related to a few of them) and a number of the mechants quite well, presumably dined with some of his Louisbourg friends and relatives on occasion, and generally seemed to be the go-between for the French officials and the prisoners.

While the officers, especially Bradstreet, were the most visible of the British, the inhabitants were also well aware of the ordinary prisoners. By the end of June there may have been 200 of them in town.[24] Some were living in packet-boats moored in the harbour; the rest were accommodated in the town in three buildings that had been converted into temporary prisons.[25] One was the de la Pérelle storehouse on Rue Royale and another was in the house of Joseph Lartigue's widow. The third building was described in 1744 as belonging to Jean-Baptiste Lannelongue; however, in 1751, claims were made for repairs to the same structure but its owner was identified as François Du Pont Duvivier.[26] People living near the prisons had the best stories of the conditions and behaviour of the British, but everyone else likely had his or her own favourite tale to tell. Common to all were reports of British dissatisfaction with the rations they were given; how much sympathy they felt for the British undoubtedly depended on how well they themselves were eating. Whenever the prisoners were allowed out to exercise and take the air everyone in Louisbourg probably knew about it. The care and feeding of the women and children, the sick and injured were likely also common topics.

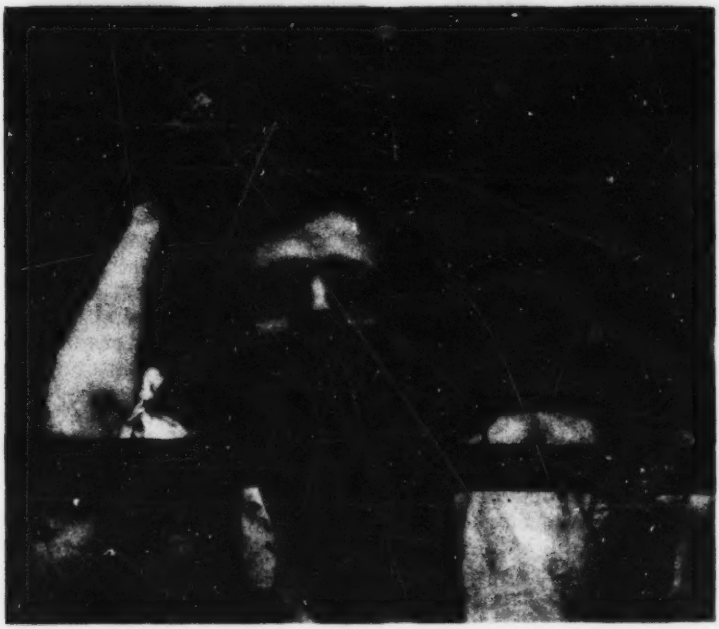
The townspeople also thought of the British prisoners in their midst due to the money to be made because of their presence. Extra men had to be hired to work in the king's bakery to produce the necessary additional loaves of bread. Cod, meat, salt pork, spruce beer, wood, straw and other supplies were all purchased for the prisoners from local suppliers. The total cost to the king's treasury of the goods and services provided the prisoners eventually reached over 16 000 *livres*.[27] One-quarter to one-fifth of that figure may have been expended in June. Among the many people cashing in on the presence of the prisoners, the name of Jean-Baptiste Lannelongue stands out. He sold cod, salt pork, and rum (for the crews on three of the boats which later went to Boston for the

prisoner exchange), and rented a house and a boat, for a total of over 2200 *livres*. Less conspicuous but still profiting from the state expenditure was Michel Rodrigue, a merchant living virtually next door to the prisoners housed in the de la Pérelle storehouse. Rodrigue sold 142 *livres* 10 *sols'* worth of salt pork and rented a boat for 1350 *livres* for the September voyage to Boston.

Although British prisoners and French privateering were the most newsworthy subjects in Louisbourg in June, they were certainly not the only topics of conversation. Matters of a personal nature were still significant. For those who knew 16-year-old Marie-Louise Paris, a native of Louisbourg, and Jean Le Bezot, from France, their marriage in the chapel of the King's Bastion barracks on 12 June was of happy interest. (This wedding was one of the very few in colonial Louisbourg held on a Friday; the most popular days were Sunday, Monday and Tuesday.) For the families and friends of the seven mothers who gave birth during the month, the birth and baptism of those children were events of considerable importance. Each of the baptisms took place in the barracks chapel, which served as the parish church of Louisbourg.

One of the infants, a son born to *Compagnies franches* Captain Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouin and Anne de Gannes de Falaise on 13 June, was probably in poor health right from birth. The child lived only five days and was buried in the parish cemetery on 19 June. Another death, that of 34-year-old Françoise Pugnant on 15 June, may have been related to childbirth. Pugnant, wife of Jean Bernard, had had a child on 20 May and it is possible that her death three and a half weeks later was the result of some complication in that birth. The only other civilian death recorded in June was that of a 26- to 27-year-old native of Brittany named Jean Vildieu, who died on 21 June. Earlier in the month, on 4 June, two soldiers from one of the *Compagnies franches* passed away in the king's hospital at Louisbourg.[28]

A subject that reemerged in the latter part of the month was a local court case involving Valérien Louis *dit* le Bourguignon.[29] Bourguignon was a former soldier in the Bourgogne Regiment in France who had come to Isle Royale to work as a stone cutter for David-Bernard Muiron, contractor for the fortifications. In October 1743 Muiron had submitted written allegations to the *Bailliage*, the lower civil and criminal court of Louisbourg, that Bourguignon had been stealing from him over a period of four months; iron, steel, chocolate, coffee and table knives were missing. Muiron's allegations were duly



Even short periods of incarceration in Louisbourg could be extremely unpleasant. There was little protection from either vermin or the cold, damp climate. Moreover, judicial torture was frequently used to obtain information and confessions. (Photo by D. Crawford.)

investigated in the following months and Bourguignon was detained in the barracks prison. In November and December 1743 the accused was interrogated on seven occasions before the *Bailliage*, presided over by acting judge Michel Hertel de Cournoyer. Bourguignon's explanations and denials were then checked against the testimony of 40 witnesses. The investigations continued into January 1744 when Bourguignon was once again interrogated. The stone cutter's persistent claims of innocence prompted the *Bailliage* to recommend that torture be used to obtain a confession of guilt and the names of any accomplices. On 28 February the *Conseil Supérieur*, the higher court, agreed with that recommendation. The following day Bourguignon was interrogated by the colony's torturer. Seven

times he was subjected to "du feu," presumably a hot poker, but after each application he maintained his innocence. On 1 March he was again interrogated by the court but still asserted he was not guilty. For the next few months no further action was taken in the case and Bourguignon remained imprisoned in the barracks.

The next step in the Bourguignon case came on Sunday, 21 June 1744, when the *Bailliage* prosecutor, Jean Delaborde, submitted his recommendations on the stone cutter's punishment. Believing him to be guilty, Delaborde urged that Bourguignon be beaten and whipped by the executioner at the principal intersections of the town, placed in the pillory on the quay, branded on the right shoulder with the mark of the fleur de lys, and sentenced to serve in the king's galleys for the rest of his life. At eight in the morning of the following day, the *Bailliage* met in the chambers of the *Conseil Supérieur* to decide on the case. Once again Bourguignon was brought before them and questioned about the thefts and once again he denied that he was guilty. At the end of the session the *Bailliage* upheld Delaborde's recommendations for public punishment and lifetime enslavement in the galleys. Bourguignon's case then passed to the *Conseil Supérieur* for a final hearing and sentencing.

The question in the minds of those who were following the case, and there must have been quite a few for Bourguignon was apparently well known in town, was not so much whether or not he was guilty, but what the final decision on his punishment would be. The *Conseil Supérieur* often moderated the sentence of the *Bailliage*, so his fate would not be certain until after they met. While Bourguignon waited in the barracks prison for his final hearing, his case and his future were discussed by many around the town. As it turned out, the *Conseil Supérieur* prosecutor, Antoine Sabatier, submitted a recommendation on 1 October 1744 that Bourguignon be hanged until dead and his corpse displayed on a gallows to be erected on the quay near the pillory. The reaction of the *Conseil Supérieur* to Sabatier's recommendation was never known: during the night of 11-12 October 1744 Bourguignon escaped from the barracks prison through a 40-centimetre (16-inch) crack in the masonry. Trained as a stone cutter, Burguignon may well have saved his life by practicing his trade in prison.[30]

For most people in Louisbourg, particularly those involved in the fishery and merchant trade, June was a month of some relief. When they first learned of the war they anticipated a summer of harassment and possible capture by New England

privateers. The larger the investment out to sea, in cargoes, crews or the ships themselves, the greater was their concern; however, to date not a single vessel from Louisbourg had been lost to the New Englanders. No one could foresee how long that situation would last, but all were hopeful of another few weeks of relative freedom on the seas. During the Masses said that month the priests and parishioners alike must have thanked God for the success their war effort had enjoyed to that point. Similarly, the two holy days of obligation in the latter part of the month, the feast days of St. John the Baptist (24 June) and St. Peter and St. Paul (29 June), were likely occasions of public celebration and thankfulness, days on which the inhabitants prayed that they and their investments would continue to be spared from the enemy.

July

The War: First Setbacks, Fresh Hopes

During the early days of July the people of Louisbourg more than likely looked ahead with optimism to a month of continued success in the war. At sea two Louisbourg-based privateers, the *César* and *Cantabre*, were expected to be sailing along the New England coast throughout the month intercepting profitable British merchant vessels. Everyone realized that captures would not come as easily as they had in June when unarmed fishing boats and schooners had been the prey, yet it was difficult not to remain optimistic. Both the *César* and *Cantabre* were well-armed and commanded by capable seamen (respectively Philippe Leneuf de Beaubassin and Joannis Dolabaratz), so there was good reason to hope that a number of prizes would be led into Louisbourg harbour during July.

By the first week of July the *César* and *Cantabre* were close to the Massachusetts coast. The two privateers became separated when they encountered a thick fog and as a result were to have drastically different destinies. On 5 and 6 July Beaubassin's *César* captured three vessels carrying quantities of flour, fish oil and other supplies. At least one, but probably all three, of the captures were made off Cape Cod, approximately 12 leagues from Boston. His prizes were escorted back to Louisbourg, where they appear to have arrived by the middle of the month. Meanwhile, on 4 July the *Cantabre*, outfitted by Bigot, Duquesnel, Duvivier and Captain Dolabaratz himself at a cost of over 17 500 *livres*, was captured off Cape Cod by the *Prince of Orange*, a snow belonging to the Massachusetts government and commanded by Edward Tyng.[1]

The loss of the *Cantabre* signified the beginning of a more aggressive response by New England to French privateering. Throughout July, merchants in the American colonies outfitted privateers of their own to strike back at the French. G.A. Rawlyk has written that

> it has been estimated that by August no fewer than eight Rhode Island privateers were under sail against the French, five from Boston and one from New Hampshire .... By early August French privateers were no longer an

Edward Tyng (1683-1755) was the commander of the Massachusetts vessel *Prince of Orange* which, on 4 July 1744, captured the Louisbourg privateer *Cantabre* and its 80-man crew 15 leagues off Cape Cod. (Artist unknown, *Commodore Edward Tyng*. Yale University Art Gallery, The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.)

As a reward for Tyng's accomplishment, the merchants of Boston presented him with a handsome silver cup. (Jacob Hurd, *Two-handled Covered Cup.* Yale University Art Gallery, The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.)

> immediate threat to Massachusetts. Instead the New England privateers had boldly forced their way into the French waters about Cape Breton and by September were playing havoc with French shipping to and from Louisbourg.[2]

The developments of August and September could hardly be forecast in July, but when word reached Louisbourg of the capture of the *Cantabre* it must have been regarded as a serious setback to the privateering effort. Most dismayed of all, of course, were the relatives and friends of the 80-man crew and the financial backers. The privateering war had by no means ended with the capture of a single Louisbourg *corsaire*, but it was henceforth to be increasingly curtailed.

In late July the news of the loss of the *Cantabre* was partially offset by the arrival in port of two British vessels taken by Morpain's *Succès*. On 8 July, while on one of its cruises as the coast-guard ship for Isle Royale, it gave chase first to the *Nancy* and later to the *Kinsbury*, capturing each one

after a brief display of fire power. The two prizes and their cargoes were led into Louisbourg harbour in the latter half of the month. On the last day of July, François Bauchet de Saint-Martin, the privateer who had enjoyed great success in June, took two prizes off Long Island, New York, with the *Signe*. The first vessel taken, the *Guillaume Mery* (probably the *William and Mary*), had a "cargo" of a large quantity of coal and 45 Irish girls. The *Signe* was not carrying enough provisions to feed both its own crew and all the prisoners, so when a whaling ship was captured later that day, Saint-Martin transferred 28 of his prisoners to the whaler and let it go.[3]

As July came to a close, everyone in Louisbourg must have realized that the course of the war at sea had shifted. Less than half as many British prizes had been brought into the harbour during July as had been led in during June, and none of them had been captured after 8 July. To make matters worse, there were reports that more and more British and New England privateers were out at sea looking for French vessels. Late in the month the colonists probably learned that eight fishing boats from Louisbourg had been captured on the banks off Newfoundland.[4] Only the most optimistic colonist could not see that the time was not far off when enemy privateers would begin plying their trade in waters close to Isle Royale. A few days before the end of the month, Morpain was relieved of his duties with the coast-guard schooner, the *Succès* (which was given a new assignment), and given temporary command of the *Caribou*, a 52-gun king's ship recently arrived in port from Canada. The expectation was that with Morpain commanding the *Caribou*, the naval offensive of the colony would be greatly expanded.

Where July was the month in which New Englanders finally began to adopt an aggressive stance with respect to privateering, it was also the month in which they began to take seriously the possibility of a French attack on Annapolis Royal. An assault on Annapolis Royal had been expected by some British colonial officials as soon as they learned of the outbreak of war. In late May, when they were still unaware of the fall of Canso, rumours of an imminent Micmac-French attack circulated at Annapolis, causing "an unprecedented exodus of women and children" to New England. Fears of a French or a combined Micmac-French assault only increased when word of Canso reached the Nova Scotian capital. In Massachusetts the news had a similar effect, with the House of Representatives at last accepting Governor Shirley's view that reinforcements had to be sent to Annapolis or it too would fall to the French.

Although this view was executed in 1751, Annapolis Royal looked much the same when the French and Micmac besieged it seven years earlier. (Public Archives Canada, C 23022.)

Authorized on 23 June and recruited during the next two weeks, the first reinforcements (about 70 men) sailed from Boston on 12 July, the very day Annapolis Royal came under attack.[5]

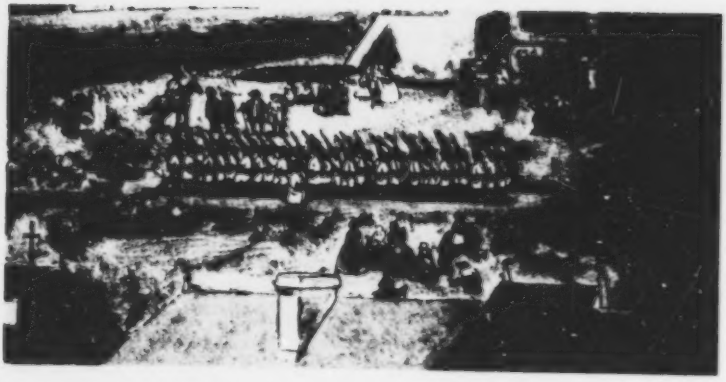
The besieging force at Annapolis on 12 July consisted of about 300 Micmac warriors and a few French, including Jean-Louis Le Loutre, a missionary to the Micmacs of Nova Scotia. They had arrived near Annapolis on or before 11 July. On the morning of the 12th the first assault on the town began. The attack appears to have been over quickly as British artillery and musket fire drove the Micmacs away before much damage could be done. A few buildings were set on fire and two British soldiers who, contrary to orders, had been outside the fortifications were killed. Having demonstrated their intentions, the Micmacs retreated to "a hill about a mile from the fort. Here most of them decided to await the arrival of the promised reinforcements from Louisbourg."[6] Four days later two vessels sailed into the harbour at Annapolis. The Micmacs believed them to be carrying the expected French reinforcements; the ships were flying British flags but the Micmacs, and presumably Le Loutre and the other Frenchmen, thought that the flags were simply a ruse. They were rushing down to the store to greet the soldiers when they discovered their mistake. The vessels were the ones that had left Massachusetts on 12 July (one was the *Prince of Orange* and the other was a transport

vessel) and between them they carried the 70 soldiers to reinforce the British garrison. Not surprisingly, the Micmacs "betook themselves to precipitate Flight."[7] Later that day the siege was suspended and the 300 Micmacs and their French advisers retreated to Minas.

The failure of this initial attempt to capture Annapolis Royal cannot be blamed on any single individual. Obviously the Micmacs were expecting French naval support and reinforcements from Louisbourg soon after they laid siege to the fort, naval support and reinforcements that were never sent. The explanation for the apparent French bad faith probably lay in the communication difficulties faced by the authorities at Louisbourg in contacting their allies in Nova Scotia. The liaison person for such contacts was the Abbé Le Loutre. Le Loutre had been in Louisbourg for several days in May 1744[8] and it is likely that during his stay he discussed the possibility of an attack on Annapolis Royal by his Micmac parishioners. Judging by the Micmac response to the arrival of the British vessels at Annapolis on 16 July, Duquesnel must have led Le Loutre to believe that he could expect assistance from Louisbourg by mid-July. Le Loutre and the Micmac chiefs evidently went ahead with an attack plan based on that assumption. Unfortunately for the French and Micmac cause, Duquesnel could not keep his promise.

When Le Loutre was in Louisbourg in May, Duquesnel believed that two warships, the *Caribou* (52 guns) and the *Ardent* (64 guns) would be in the capital during June or early July. Sometime later he learned that the ships would not be arriving as early as planned. Because of the urgent need for privateers and a coast-guard ship, no other suitable vessels could be pressed into service at the time for an expedition to Annapolis Royal. Presumably Duquesnel sent word to Le Loutre of the need to postpone the attack, but either that communication was disregarded by the missionary and the Micmac chiefs or, as is far more likely, it did not reach its destination before the assault commenced on 12 July. The result was a short and ineffective siege that probably left the Micmac allies "discontented and disillusioned and the Acadians unimpressed by French power."[9]

When Duquesnel and the senior officers in the Louisbourg garrison learned of the premature siege and subsequent withdrawal at Annapolis Royal, they were annoyed and disappointed but unwilling to give up the idea of capturing the only remaining British settlement in Nova Scotia. In spite of the setback and the arrival of reinforcements from New England, the



Marching off the parade ground under the watchful eyes of the staff officers are the 33 officers and men who formed the nucleus of the force that would later lay siege to Annapolis Royal. (Painting by L. Parker; photo by A. Fennell.)

likelihood of success was still strong provided the various pieces in the puzzle could be properly coordinated. Of all the pieces, the provision of effective naval support was the most difficult one to grasp or count on. Until the *Caribou* and *Ardent* actually sailed into Louisbourg harbour there was no guarantee that an expedition to Annapolis would enjoy their protection. At last, towards the end of July, the *Caribou* arrived in port. Duquesnel apparently believed that the *Ardent* would also soon be in the capital and able to continue on to the Bay of Fundy because late in the month he gave orders for a new expedition against the Nova Scotian capital.

The plan to which Duquesnel gave his support in late July was one that combined the elements of two different proposals submitted during the 1730s. In brief, the plan adopted in 1744 was to send a contingent of regular troops from Isle Royale to land at the Chignecto Isthmus. From there they were to proceed overland to Annapolis Royal, picking up volunteers as they passed through the many Acadian settlements on route. At Annapolis the French force was to be joined by several hundred Micmac allies. Additional troops, needed siege supplies and naval support would be provided when the *Caribou* and *Ardent* arrived at Annapolis. Aside from the supplies and troops they would carry, the warships were essential to the

scheme because they would virtually ensure that no more British reinforcements would reach the Nova Scotian capital. In theory it was a workable plan with every chance for success; in practice difficulties could arise in many areas.

On 29 July the first step in the plan to seize Annapolis Royal was taken when five vessels sailed from Louisbourg bound for Isle Saint-Jean and then Chignecto. In command of the expedition was Captain François Du Pont Duvivier, the successful leader of the May attack on Canso. Also assigned to the expedition were three junior officers: Louis Du Pont Duchambon de Vergor, *enseigne en pied*, Michel Rousseau, *enseigne en second*, and Gobet (more than likely de Caubet), *enseigne en second*. Duvivier was aboard the schooner *Succès*, the coast guard for Isle Royale until assigned to escort this expedition to Isle Saint-Jean. The remainder of the force - the junior officers, nine cadets, one sergeant and 19 soldiers - travelled in four smaller boats. By early August all five vessels had reached Port Toulouse.[10] The first leg on the journey to Annapolis and the attempt to recapture Acadia was over. The most difficult stages still lay ahead, in August and September.

Life in Town

Throughout July the main concerns of the inhabitants of Louisbourg remained with the war. With the comings and goings of privateers and other vessels, the unsuccessful Mi'kmaq attack on Annapolis Royal and the departure late in the month of Duvivier's second expedition, dozens of war-related stories were circulating in the town.

One of the "wartime" subjects of greatest interest in early July continued to be the British prisoners and what was likely to happen to them. Sometime during the first week to ten days of the month two vessels bearing a flag of truce and a few prisoners set out from Louisbourg on a voyage to Boston. Aboard one boat were "five Men-prisoners" and a number of wives and children of soldiers captured at Canso. The other vessel, the *Ranger*, a schooner belonging to John Bradstreet and taken in the Canso raid, carried 14 "lame incurable soldiers of the Canso Companies," the family of the Canso commander, and Bradstreet himself.[11] These two groups were permitted to leave Louisbourg in order that Bradstreet could carry Duquesnel's letter to Governor Shirley proposing an exchange of prisoners. With the prisoners Duquesnel sent Shirley a gift of a barrel of white wine as a courtesy and as an indication of his

good faith in carrying out the scheme he proposed.[12] It is not known whether or not the general populace in Louisbourg was aware of Duquesnel's plan for a prisoner exchange, but if not, speculation as to why some prisoners were being let go must have been rife. Given the scarcity of provisions in town that summer, at least some of that speculation would have foreseen such an exchange proposal.

Bradstreet's schooner reached Boston on 17 July, two days after the other boat. Governor Shirley showed no speed whatsoever in responding to Duquesnel's letter. Suspicious over which side would benefit from an exchange of prisoners, Shirley carefully weighed the question for nearly three weeks before he replied on 6 August, outlining his policy of exchanging French prisoners only for able-bodied British soldiers; the sick and injured and women and children might be sent to Boston as well, but Duquesnel was not to expect French prisoners in exchange for them. Shirley's letter, accompanied by a gift of three turkeys and a cask of English beer,[13] did not arrive in Louisbourg until late August or early September because of difficulties Bradstreet encountered in getting a crew to sail his schooner back to Isle Royale. Bradstreet had expected to have it manned by returning French prisoners, but Shirley foiled that plan by giving up only three French in return for the group Duquesnel had sent. As a result, Bradstreet had to find additional British sailors willing to sail to Louisbourg before he could leave Boston. In Louisbourg, Duquesnel, Bigot and their senior advisers passed the latter half of July wondering how Shirley had reacted to the idea of an exchange and when Bradstreet would return with the governor's answer.[14]

With the departure of the two vessels carrying prisoners to Boston in early July, the townspeople's attention turned to maritime matters. In the middle of the month the three prizes captured off Cape Cod by Beaubassin's *César* were brought into the harbour. Impressive events in themselves, the arrival of these vessels was probably made particularly newsworthy because they carried word of the loss of Dolabaratz and the 80 men of the *Cantabre* off New England. A few days later the two ships captured by Morpain's *Succès* sailed into port, prizes which may have given many of the colonists the impression the French were still winning the war at sea. Not until the end of the month would most people fully realize that the Louisbourg privateers had been much less successful in July than in June.

The arrival of privateers with their prizes and tales of high adventure was almost eclipsed by another exciting and unusual feature of life in Louisbourg in July. To the surprise of all but

By mid-summer of 1744 the harbour was crowded with the largest merchant ships ever to visit Louisbourg, the six *Compagnie des Indes* vessels; with British prizes captured by French privateers earlier that summer, and with the normal harbour traffic. (Painting by L. Parker; photo by A. Fennell.)

a few officials, huge merchant ships belonging to the *Compagnie des Indes*, the company that held a monopoly of France's trade with the Far East, sailed into the harbour on their way from India back to France. On 16 July the *Philibert* reached Louisbourg and the next day the *Argonaute* arrived. Five days later another ship sailed in and on 27 July two more. On 12 August a sixth and final East India ship arrived (a seventh was expected but never reached Louisbourg). With enormous carrying capacities, they were among the largest merchant vessels ever to visit the capital of Isle Royale.[15] Their holds contained rich cargoes of tea, porcelain, coffee and other goods from the Far East. The *Compagnie des Indes* ships were the ones that in the spring of the year Maurepas had confidentially informed Bigot to expect sometime during the summer. The very day that Bigot received the minister's despatch, 3 May, some of the ships were rounding the Cape of Good Hope.[16] Towards the end of May the heavily laden ships reached Ascension Island in the mid-Atlantic where they received orders to proceed to Louisbourg on account of the war.[17]

When the first of the ships arrived in the capital in mid-July the impact on Louisbourg must have been considerable. Their size, their cargoes and the exotic countries they had visited were all out of the ordinary. By the time all six reached Louisbourg the appearance of the harbour and of the streets in the capital were transformed. The total crew of the six ships was approximately 700.[18] Many of them were "very sickly when they first came in" and were sent to the hospital; indeed, on the last ship to arrive two-thirds of the crew (84 of 120) were so ill that they needed to be hospitalized.[19] Not all the crews were sick, of course, and some would have been on shore at any given time during the day. One suspects that most of the cabarets in town did a brisker than normal business as the crews quenched their thirsts and spared no effort to captivate listeners from Louisbourg with spellbinding tales of the hundreds of strange places and peoples they had seen. For the average colonist the stories of the sailors were of worlds and customs never even imagined, much less seen, and many of the more memorable tales must have been retold time and time again around the town that summer. Even though the coming of the *Compagnie des Indes* fleet to Louisbourg was a result of the war with Britain, in a very real sense it was a diversion from the concerns of the war for the people of Louisbourg. Its arrival was an unexpected special event that brought hundreds of sailors, an air of excitement and a hint of life in exotic places into the capital of Isle Royale.

The coming of the East Indiamen was not the only diversion in July. On a personal level the five births during the month were important events to all those who knew the families involved. Two of those births are worthy of mention: that of a son to André Carrerot, the king's storekeeper and a councillor on the *Conseil Supérieur*, and Marie-Josephte Chéron on 19 July, and that of a daughter to the merchant Michel Rodrigue and his wife Marguerite Lartigue on 21 July. The day after each infant's birth it was baptized in the barracks chapel by the curé of Louisbourg, Athanase Guégot. There were no marriages in July and only one burial in the parish cemetery, that of an Irishman named Thomas Bernard.[20] Bernard was either one of the prisoners captured that summer or one of a number of Irish servants working in Louisbourg households in 1744.

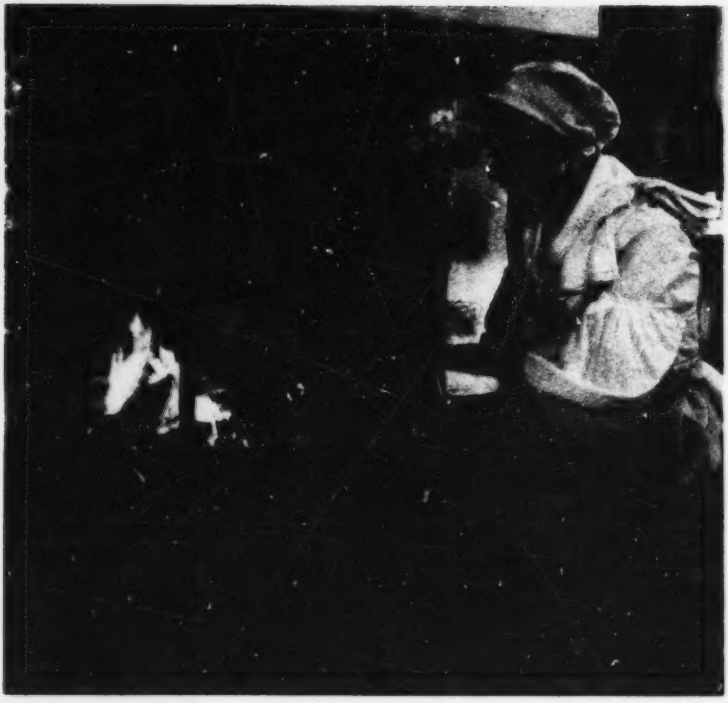
Another event which distracted people's attention from the war was a noisy bout of name-calling that took place one Friday evening early in the month.[21] Whether one heard the yelling that night or simply heard about it the next day, the episode precipitated a great deal of gossip in Louisbourg. The incident

began around nine o'clock in the evening of 3 July. A window was broken at the house of Quentin LeLievre on Rue Saint-Louis and, believing her daughter had done it, LeLievre's wife, Angélique Butel began to beat the girl. Servanne Bonnier, wife of butcher Pierre Santier, was walking down the street with a young child in her arms when she heard the commotion within LeLievre's house and went to the door of the house to intercede on the child's behalf. A heated exchange followed in which Bonnier voiced a host of inflammatory accusations at Butel. Among the most serious were charges that Butel had borne two children in France, whose fathers were not her husband, and that she had already killed one child and wished to do the same to her only remaining one. The most memorable phrase Bonnier used was that Butel was "a cheap whore who liked the act but not the children." Butel replied in kind, charging that Bonnier's whole family deserved to be hanged and that Bonnier herself could not return to France because of the illegitimate child she had had in Louisbourg ten years before. A third woman present in the LeLievre house at the time, Marie Madelaine Isabel, who had been visiting Butel, then left the house, taking with her the girl whom Butel was beating when the incident began. First Bonnier and then Butel followed her across the street and into the tavern operated by Isabel's husband, Nicolas Deschamps. By this point the noisy dispute had kindled the interest of a number of neighbours and pedestrians within earshot. Butel apparently soon decided that she had heard enough and left for her house across the street. Still infuriated, Bonnier followed Butel, reiterating the allegations she had been making since the episode began. Although Butel closed her door and ended her involvement in the yelling match, Bonnier continued to shout insults at Butel's residence. Among the many people who heard Bonnier were three ship captains and an artillery sergeant who were returning from an evening promenade. They, and others, later testified that Bonnier stood in the street denouncing Butel as a whore, a drunkard, and the murderer of one of her own children.

Angélique Butel was understandably distressed by the insults and allegations Servanne Bonnier had made about her in public. The next day, 4 July, Butel submitted a written complaint to the acting judge of the *Bailliage*, Michel Hertel de Cournoyer. In her deposition she gave her version of the incident and asked that Bonnier be fined 500 *livres* for her slanderous remarks and forced to make a public apology. The fine was a secondary consideration; indeed, it was to go to the poor of the parish. What Butel wanted most was a retraction of what had been said

Louisbourg was a town of many cabarets where rum or wine, lively conversation and card games helped pass away the evenings. (Photo by M. LeBlanc.)

and the public restitution of her honour. Cournoyer acted quickly on the complaints and at nine in the morning of 6 July an inquiry into the Butel-Bonnier shouting episode commenced. In the course of the proceedings that Monday, 13 witnesses gave testimony on what they had seen and heard. The next day Servanne Bonnier submitted a statement containing her account of what had happened. Not surprisingly, it differed substantially from Butel's version, emphasizing as it did the slanderous epithets Butel had shouted at Bonnier. A few days later Bonnier was summoned to appear before the *Bailliage* on 17 July for questioning. She appeared as requested and denied most of the charges that Butel had made about her, depicting herself as having been mostly concerned with the welfare of Butel's child. Bonnier's performance before the *Bailliage* may have been a convincing one because thereafter the court appears to have lost any interest in pursuing the case. Late in the month Angélique Butel tried to prod the court into settling the matter but no final judgement was ever made.



Simple but hearty meals, such as the fish stew being served here, were the standard fare in most cabarets. (Photo by M. LeBlanc.)

Although the case ended inconclusively, there is little doubt that, like the arrival of the *Compagnie des Indes* ships, the Butel-Bonnier affair diverted the people of Louisbourg from the concerns of the war; however, towards the end of July, their attention was again focussed on the events of the war. Of special significance was the departure on 29 July of a detachment of *Compagnies franches* led by Captain François Du Pont Duvivier to capture Annapolis Royal. For some, including Duvivier himself, Annapolis Royal had been their place of birth when it was under French control and known as Port Royal. Most residents of Louisbourg could not claim such a personal

Games of chance like backgammon were extremely popular in the 18th century, especially in a place like Louisbourg where the well-to-do had so few ways to amuse themselves. (Photo by D. Crawford.)

attachment to the place, but nonetheless recognized that it was the historic capital of a territory that had been first colonized by the French a century and a half earlier. Now under British jurisdiction, it stood as the only remaining obstacle to re-establishment of French domain over all of what had once been Acadia. If all went well with the expedition, Acadia might be united with Isle Royale before the summer was over, a dream held by many colonists. Whether or not the ultimate destination of the flotilla was public knowledge is not known, but if so, the vessels would have departed with all the inhabitants' heartfelt prayers for success.

For those who believed in omens, the expedition did not begin well. Heavy headwinds on 30 July forced the boats to seek safe anchorages, some at Gabarus and others back at

Louisbourg, until the weather changed. During the same period that the five vessels were making their way down the coast of Isle Royale, additional British reinforcements were sent from Boston to Annapolis Royal.[22] Thus July ended with both Duquesnel and Shirley making moves designed to gain or retain control of the Nova Scotian capital.

August

The War: Advance on Acadia, Hemmed in at Home

The expedition to Annapolis Royal was intended to be one of the more decisive military steps taken by the French during the latter half of the summer of 1744; however, in its execution very little went as planned and in the end it failed badly. How much the ordinary inhabitants knew of the expedition will never be known, yet it seems likely, given the way in which rumours spread about other war-related occurrences in 1744, that by mid-August at the latest the colonists were aware of the attempt to wrest the control of Nova Scotia out of British hands. In light of the collapse of the Micmac siege in mid-July and the more aggressive stance the New Englanders were adopting, everyone must have recognized that Annapolis Royal would not fall as easily as Canso, but there was likely widespread hope that the second Duvivier expedition might turn the tide of the war back in their favour.

Even for the officials in the colony, keeping abreast of what was happening with the force on the mainland was difficult. The best sources of information were the messengers carrying despatches from Duvivier to Duquesnel but they probably did not arrive frequently enough to satisfy everyone's curiosity about the expedition's progress or whether or not the Acadians and Micmacs were rallying to the French cause. For answers to those questions, people probably turned to anyone familiar with Acadia or, better still, to men off cargo and trading vessels returning from the region. Of course, no matter who was the source on events relating to Acadia, the news he offered was sure to be at least one or two weeks out of date. The only certainty was that by the time people in Louisbourg heard about a particular event, the event had long since passed.

The first destination of the Duvivier expedition after it left Louisbourg on 29 July was Port Toulouse. Held up by contrary winds, the five vessels did not reach there until 2 August.[1] Once ashore, Duvivier set out to make the necessary arrangements for Micmac support for the attack on Annapolis Royal. Lieutenant Pierre Benoist, the commandant at Port Toulouse, was directed to send word to their Micmac allies to rendezvous

with Duvivier's force at Minas later that summer. In the hope of encouraging as many Micmacs as possible to give their support to the attack, Duvivier left some presents to be sent to the bands in the Cape Sable area at the southwestern tip of Nova Scotia. Two Micmac chiefs happened to be at Port Toulouse when Duvivier arrived and he personally briefed them on his intentions and gave them a supply of bread in the expectation that they and their warriors would be able to proceed directly to the rendezvous on the mainland. One final measure which was likely taken at Port Toulouse was to have the Abbé Pierre Maillard, the missionary to the Micmacs of Isle Royale, join the expedition. Maillard was definitely with Duvivier on the mainland and it is likely that he joined the force when it stopped at Port Toulouse. Having done everything he could to ensure that there would be Micmac support for the assault, Duvivier prepared to leave Port Toulouse. Before leaving, he wrote to Duquesnel, outlining what had happened since his departure from Louisbourg. Although the contents of his report were secret, news of his activities likely circulated in Louisbourg soon after the messenger arrived back in the capital in early August.

When the expedition sailed from Port Toulouse, apparently on 3 August, it again ran into strong headwinds and was compelled to anchor. Taking advantage of the delay, Duvivier wrote to Abbé Le Loutre on the mainland, asking him to use his influence to have the route from the rendezvous at Minas to Annapolis Royal kept guarded. The secret message was given to a captain of a small boat heading for Tatamagouche. From there the message was to be carried overland to the Minas Basin. On 4 August the weather turned favourable and the vessels set out for Isle Saint-Jean. Two days later they sailed into Port La Joye. This was the end of the journey for the *Succès*. The schooner had accompanied the four smaller boats to protect them from possible attacks by British privateers. With the maritime leg of the trip virtually over, the *Succès* was left with the commandant of Isle Saint-Jean (and the new king's lieutenant of Isle Royale), Louis du Pont Duchambon, who was soon to sail for Louisbourg.

While Duvivier lost his naval support at Isle Saint-Jean, he gained additional soldiers. From the garrison on the island Duvivier took two junior officers, one of whom was his brother, Joseph Du Pont Duvivier, and the other Le Chevalier Duchambon, probably Jean-Baptiste-Ange du Pont Duchambon, the son of Louis du Pont Duchambon. (Duvivier himself was a nephew

of Louis du Pont Duchambon, who had four sons and three nephews serving as officers in 1744.) As well, two cadets and 18 soldiers joined him. With these additions Duvivier's expedition had grown to a total of five officers, 11 cadets, one sergeant and 37 soldiers.

After spending only one day at Port La Joye, the small boats set sail for the Chignecto Isthmus. On 8 August they landed on the shores of Baie Verte. They had reached the hinterland of Acadia.

Duvivier and his detachment set out overland from Baie Verte on the day they landed. Five days later, in heavy rain, they reached the Acadian community at Beaubassin on the other side of the isthmus. At the first house he came to, Duvivier was greeted warmly by an older man and woman who remembered his parents from years earlier at Port Royal. He probably took their affectionate reception as an indication of the kind of support the Acadians would give him and wasted no time in attempting to stir the hearts of the young men of the family to join the expedition "to defend their Freedom and the Peace of their religion." Before the day was over Duvivier saw to it that a guard was posted and he himself accommodated in one of the local houses.

The following day, 14 August, Duvivier spent visiting the inhabitants of the community, telling them that he had come to deliver them from the British and that the young men should rally to his cause. On each of the next two days (15 August, the feast day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and Sunday, 16 August) Duvivier repeated his appeals at large gatherings outside the parish church at the end of Mass. During the Mass on 15 August, Abbé Maillard used his influence to win Acadian support with a stirring exhortation. During the gathering on Sunday Duvivier led his troops in three loud cries of "Vive Le Roy et La Réligion Romaine." Three-quarters of the inhabitants joined in with fervor and Duvivier interpreted their reaction as a sign of their profound attachment to the French cause; however, when it came time to draw up a list of the men who were actually willing to join the expedition, the response was lukewarm. Only a few were interested in bearing arms in an attack on the English fort. Other volunteers were formed into companies but as they declined to leave the Beaubassin area, they were of little use to Duvivier. He must have been deeply disappointed by the failure of the Acadians to rise en masse against the English and the letter he wrote to Duquesnel later that Sunday must have reflected that disappointment.

There would have been a similar reaction in Louisbourg when the first rumours of the lack of Acadian support reached the capital.

On Monday, 17 August, Duvivier watched his detachment of soldiers, together with some Micmacs and Acadian volunteers, set off for Minas in two small boats. The following day he himself set sail from Beaubassin, hoping for a better response from the Acadians closer to Annapolis. Two days later he arrived at Minas and immediately tried to kindle enthusiasm there for an attack on the British. On 21 August Duvivier sent two of his officers to request representatives of nearby Acadian settlements to meet with him. While awaiting their replies, Duvivier spoke with the missionaries in the area in the hopes of convincing them to use whatever influence they possessed to encourage their parishioners to take up arms against the British. As at Beaubassin, Duvivier encountered a populace with little eagerness to join the expedition. They were willing to give him encouragement and sympathy, but little else. Indeed, some Acadians even opposed sending any more provisions to Louisbourg. That opposition was overcome, but not the reluctance to bear arms.

The only sizeable addition to the expeditionary force came when 70 Malecite warriors (from the region that is now the St. John River Valley in New Brunswick) arrived at Minas on 27 August. Firearms were distributed to these warriors on 28 August and on the following day Duvivier gave a feast at which he delivered a speech intended to impress and embolden the allies. The following day the Malecites were given powder and shot for their firearms. Later that day, 30 August, the 70 Malecites, roughly 50 French soldiers, some Micmacs and a few Acadians set out from Minas along the trail toward Annapolis Royal. Within a matter of days the force would be approaching the Nova Scotian capital, yet with far too few men to compel the fort to surrender. Because of the Acadians' failure to respond to Duvivier's appeals, the success of the attack was now entirely dependent upon the provision of adequate naval support and reinforcements from Louisbourg. As Duvivier travelled along the route to Annapolis he must have reflected time and again on the disappointments he had experienced in the Acadian settlements and wondered what September would bring. Uppermost in his mind was the question of naval support the plan called for. Would it be forthcoming and if so, when?

The ships expected to provide the support for the expedition were the *Caribou* and *Ardent*. The *Caribou* had arrived in Louisbourg before Duvivier departed and the *Ardent* was expec-

ted to arrive soon after. In fact, the *Ardent* did not reach Louisbourg until 16 August, at which time Duvivier was in his fourth day at Beaubassin. When the *Ardent* arrived in port, Duquesnel briefed the commander of the warship, Jérémie de Meschin, about the plan for the assault on Annapolis Royal and the role envisioned for his ship. Meschin advised Duquesnel that the warship needed repairs, principally to a broken bowsprit, and that it would not be able to sail for Nova Scotia until 5 or 6 September, nearly another three weeks.[2] On the basis of that advice, Duquesnel despatched a junior officer in the garrison, De Renon, to inform Duvivier that the ships would be arriving at Annapolis on 8 September.[3] At the end of August, De Renon had not yet located Duvivier so the commander of the expedition to Acadia remained in the dark as to when or even if he was to expect the needed naval support.

While the Duvivier expedition was making its way toward Annapolis Royal, there were important developments in the war at sea. Although Louisbourg privateers enjoyed some success in August, it became obvious to everyone that the tide of war was definitely turning in favour of the British. Among the French successes was the capture on 5 August by Saint-Martin, in command of the *Signe*, of his third vessel in British waters in six days (the other two were taken off Long Island on 31 July). Nine days later, off Newfoundland, Morpain, aboard the king's ship *Caribou*, recaptured a French vessel that had been taken previously by the British, and then intercepted a British schooner.[4] Both of those prizes, as well as the ones taken by Saint-Martin off the American colonies, were led into Louisbourg harbour in mid-August. To the probable disappointment of the colonists, Morpain gave up the command of the *Caribou* shortly after the *Ardent* arrived in port on 16 August, apparently because the ship was to be readied for the voyage to Annapolis. It was likely the opinion of many that the *Caribou* would make a more important contribution to the war effort sailing off Isle Royale under Morpain's command.[5]

Of greater concern than taking Annapolis was the presence of British privateers and warships off the coast of Isle Royale, disrupting the shipping lanes to and from the capital. Between 3 August and 10 August at least five French vessels were taken very close to Louisbourg. Three of the captures (two fishing vessels and one merchant ship carrying a valuable cargo of wine, claret, brandy and silk) were made by two privateers outfitted in the American colonies. The other two were considerably larger vessels and were intercepted from four to seven leagues off the coast by four British warships.[6] From

mid-August to early September all coastal trade into Louisbourg was stopped. Numerous fishing boats were taken, as were several supply ships from France.[7] With colonial privateers and British warships operating so close to the capital and entrepôt of Isle Royale, officials in Louisbourg must have suddenly recognized that they were facing a virtual British blockade of the port.

Presumably, those whose financial lives depended on the fishing and trading lanes being kept open, the merchants and *habitant-pecheurs* of Louisbourg, were among the first to point out what the ramifications of such a blockade would be. In view of the increasing threat to the colonial economy posed by enemy privateers and warships, Duquesnel decided to review his earlier decision to send the *Caribou* and *Ardent* to Annapolis Royal. After all, the minister of the Marine had stressed to Duquesnel in the spring that the first priority was to protect French commercial and fishing interests.[8] The presence of the valuable *Compagnie des Indes* ships in the harbour added yet another reason for the warships to stay close at hand. Several councils of war were held in Louisbourg in either late August or early September to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of following through with the plan to send warships to Annapolis Royal.[9] At length it was decided not to send the *Ardent* and *Caribou* to Nova Scotia but to use them to strike back at the British vessels which were crippling the colony. In effect, it was a decision to postpone the attack on Annapolis Royal. Without naval support it would be impossible for Duvivier's small force to bring the fort to capitulate. Unfortunately, Duvivier was not to learn of the change in plans until much later; De Renon was already on his way to Nova Scotia to tell Duvivier that the warships would reach Annapolis by 8 September.

Life in Town

August was generally among the most welcome of months at Louisbourg. Not only was the weather usually at its best then, but also four religious feast days occurred during the month, the last one of which, the feast day of St. Louis, a 13th-century king of France, on the 25th, was typically the occasion for the greatest public celebrations of the year.[10] August 1744, however, was not like the Augusts that preceded it. By the time St. Louis Day approached, the colonists had endured a series of disappointments, of which the most worrisome were probably

the continuing presence in the town of hundreds of prisoners, the ill-timed Micmac assault on Annapolis Royal in mid-July and the steadily increasing successes of British warships and privateers. Apparently as a result of the wartime anxieties in the capital, the celebrations which normally marked the feast day, a huge bonfire and artillery salutes, were cut back.[11] Whatever festivities were held were a good deal less joyous and carefree than in years past.

Perhaps the colonists' main worry by late August was the possibility of a serious food shortage during the winter of 1744-45. The memory of the scarcity of the preceding spring was fresh in everyone's mind and no one wanted to see it repeated. The capture of Canso in May had freed the trading lane to the Acadians and the colonists had taken advantage of it, bringing back to the capital an estimated 700 head of cattle and 2000 sheep during the summer.[12] Yet that was not enough. British prisoners returning to Boston in the fall of 1744 reported that "there was not above four months Provisions in the Garrison."[13] One reason for the depletion of the town's food stocks was, of course, the prisoners themselves, and Bradstreet was unable to return to Louisbourg with Governor Shirley's qualified acceptance of the prisoner exchange scheme until late August or early September.[14] Consequently, Duquesnel and those who were aware of the proposal endured a six- or seven-week wait for Shirley's answer, towards the end of which they may have begun to wonder if the Massachusetts governor would reply at all. If the exchange were rejected, the colony would face the gloomy prospect of keeping and feeding the 300 to 400 prisoners over the approaching winter.

Another drain on the food resources of the colony were the crews of the visiting ships. Never before in the history of Isle Royale had so many sailors been in port. By the middle of August a dozen large ships - *Compagnie des Indes* ships and king's warships - were moored in the harbour, carrying approximately 2600 men among them.[15] In addition there were the usual collection of smaller merchant and fishing vessels. On any given day in August probably around 3000 sailors and seasonal fishermen were in port, which roughly doubled the population of Louisbourg. While the crews of the smaller vessels naturally looked after finding their own supplies, the provisioning of the warships and the *Compagnie des Indes* vessels was the responsibility of the colonial administration. Indeed, the huge merchant ships from the Orient had come to Isle Royale specifically for essential supplies before continuing on to France. It is not known how long the *Compagnie* ships or

This panoramic view offers a glimpse into many facets of life in the 18th-century town: military men are going about their various duties within the palisade; townspeople are tending to their chores, and in the harbour fishing and trading vessels manoeuvre among the large men-of-war and *Compagnie des*

Indes ships. Conspicuous along the horizon are the Royal Battery (just left of centre), careening wharf (where the heating of pitch for ship maintenance has created a billow of smoke), lighthouse, and Island Battery. (Painting by L. Parker; photo by A. Fennell.)

A crow's nest atop a French warship is a fine vantage point for a view of the busy harbourfront. (Painting by L. Parker, photo by A. Fennell.)

the warships initially intended to stay at Louisbourg but, as it turned out, they remained until 30 November, apparently in the hope that the enemy vessels off the coast of Isle Royale would by that time have returned to their home waters. The impact the four-month stay of the *Compagnie* ships and the warships had on the stores of the colony can be easily imagined. To be sure, a great deal of money was to be made by local merchants supplying the visiting ships directly or indirectly through the king's storehouse, but the prolonged stay was contributing to the colony's precarious situation.

The basic cause of the shortage of provisions was the British warships and privateers cruising off the coast. According to an account written in the fall, four French ships heading for Louisbourg with quantities of flour, hardtack, wine and brandy were taken by the enemy.[16] The captured cargoes constituted a serious loss to a colony already worried about shortfalls in its food supply for the coming winter. The prospect of enemy vessels continuing to intercept supply ships from France was a gloomy one indeed, and it was largely on the basis of just such a fear that Duquesnel finally decided to keep the *Ardent* and *Caribou* in Isle Royale rather than send them to Annapolis Royal to the waiting Duvivier.

Anxieties over provisions and the faltering war effort likely surfaced, in varying degrees, in the minds of most inhabitants of Louisbourg at some time or other in August. When one sat down to think about how the course of the war, particularly the war at sea, had changed over the summer, it was difficult not to worry about what the future might bring. Alongside worries about privateers and provisions, however, were the more immediate concerns of the inhabitants. They still had jobs to perform, children to raise, friends to socialize with, prayers to say, Mass to attend and a hundred other routine tasks to carry out. The war was not forgotten, but people had to continue their lives much as they had always done.

The best reminder that life in August went on regardless of the war were the births and deaths in the community.[17] Nine children were born to residents of Louisbourg during the month. Each of the infants was baptised in the barracks within one or two days of birth. There were also three other baptisms that month. On 15 August, the feast day commemorating the Assumption of the Holy Virgin, an 11-month-old boy born in the fishing settlement of Cadrez (probably Cap de Ré), Newfoundland, was baptized in the chapel. There was no resident priest in the Newfoundland community and the boy's parents took advantage of their stay in Louisbourg to have him baptised.

The other baptisms were administered on 19 August to twins, a boy and a girl, born on 9 August to an Irish couple from Dublin. The couple, Thomas Hill and Marie d'Esem, had likely been passengers aboard the *Guillaume Mery* that Saint-Martin's *Signe* had intercepted off Long Island on 31 July. Saint-Martin had continued to cruise the waters off the American colonies for about another week (the *Signe* took another prize on 5 August) and then headed for Louisbourg where he arrived in mid-month.[18] If Hill and his wife were among the prisoners aboard the *Signe*, then the voyage was enlivened by the birth of twins to Marie d'Esem on 9 August. Ten days later the twins were baptised in the barracks chapel with Saint-Martin as one of the four godparents. Although no single document states that the Irish couple were among the group Saint-Martin captured on 31 July, the fact that they were prisoners, that their children were born on 9 August but not baptised for ten days, and, above all else, that Saint-Martin stood as the godfather to one of their children certainly lends strong support to the contention.

While August was a month of numerous baptisms, there were no marriages. As for burials, there were four in the parish cemetery and probably more in the hospital cemetery. The records for the latter have not been located but it is possible that when the body of a soldier who had deserted in February 1744, Jean Marie DuCiel *dit* St. Amant, was discovered in the woods on 2 August, it was brought into town for interment in the hospital cemetery.[19] The first burial of the month in the parish cemetery was that of Anne Guion Després on 5 August. A long-time resident of Louisbourg, Després was 80 years old at the time of her death and known to most of the inhabitants as "the widow Chevalier," after her late husband. Following Jean Chevalier's death in 1720, she had moved into a small house on the Ile du Quai where she supported herself by taking in boarders, teaching sewing and selling fabric.[20] For a number of years, until 1743 when she moved into her son's house, the missionaries to the Micmacs lodged with the widow during their visits to Louisbourg.[21] Of all the missionaries, the one who appears to have made the greatest impression on the widow seems to have been Pierre Maillard: in her will drawn up in May 1743 she left him well over 600 *livres*, but nothing for the religious orders serving the community of Louisbourg.[22]

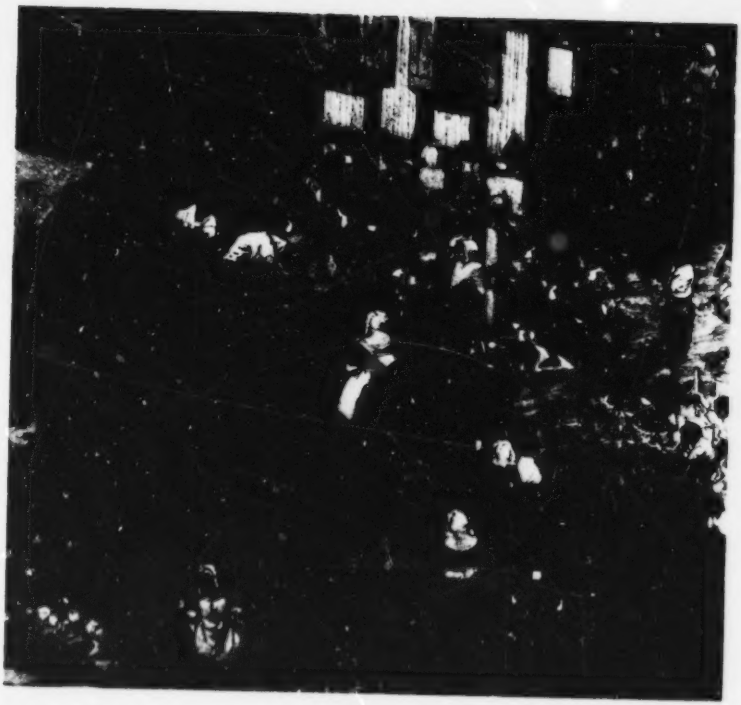
The death of the widow Chevalier in early August marked the passing of one of the better-known and more resourceful women in the town. A brief recounting of what happened to her possessions after her death will illustrate the role played by the colonial bureaucracy in settling estates.[23] Anne Guion Després

died on 4 August, apparently around five o'clock in the afternoon. Half an hour later the *Bailliage* prosecutor, Jean Delaborde, learned of her death and hurried to inform the acting judge, Michel Hertel de Cournoyer. Cournoyer directed Delaborde to proceed to the house where she died, the residence of her son Pierre Bellair, to take an inventory of her possessions and affix the customary seals. Accompanied by the court usher, Delaborde went to the Bellair house where he found the corpse in bed. Bellair's wife showed them around the residence, identifying the objects that belonged to the deceased. When their inventory was completed the two officials left. The next day, 5 August, the widow Chevalier was buried in the parish cemetery. Probably that same day a memorial service was held in the barracks chapel by the curé of Louisbourg, Athanase Guégot.[24] The cost of the service and burial came to 89 *livres*.

Nearly a month later, on 2 September, the court officials returned to Bellair's house, this time at the request of Bellair himself, to do a second and more detailed inventory of the widow's possessions. Three months later, on 11 December, yet another visit was made to the house to inventory all the documents that had belonged to the deceased. Only at that point had everything pertaining to the state been satisfactorily recorded. The next step was to auction off the possessions, which included a female black slave. In the case of the widow Chevalier's estate, the sale was held in March 1745, eight months after her death. The profits from the auction were used to pay off her outstanding debts and the remainder (1041 *livres* 2 *sols*) was presumably distributed in accordance with her will.

On the day of the widow Chevalier's burial, 5 August, another Louisbourg resident died, 19-year-old Magdelaine Paris. Eighteen days later there was another death, that of 45-year-old François Mervin. No details are available on the Paris woman's death but Mervin had been sick for a considerable length of time. When his estate was settled following a November 1744 public auction of his possessions, the Brothers of Charity were paid 191 *livres* for the treatment they had provided Mervin during his illness.[25] The cost of Mervin's burial and subsequent memorial service was 64 *livres*. The only other burial entered in the parish records for the month was that of a sailor from the *Caribou* who drowned in Louisbourg harbour on 30 August.

As August drew to a close, the colonists' aspirations for the immediate future rested on the hope that the warships and privateers at Louisbourg would be able to regain the upper hand



Whether held to dispose of the goods of a bankrupt merchant or to sell off the possessions of someone who had died, public auctions were a familiar aspect of life in 18th-century Louisbourg. (Painting by L. Parker; photo by A. Fennell.)

in the war at sea. The shipping lanes to and from the capital were the lifeline of Isle Royale and had to be rendered relatively safe. Otherwise, the fishing and merchant ships from France upon which the colony's survival depended would be lost to the enemy. In short, the very existence of Louisbourg and Isle Royale ultimately depended on control of the sea lanes.

September

The War: Failure at Annapolis, Partial Resurgence at Sea

On the surface it might appear that the policy adopted by the military strategists at Louisbourg for September had two objectives: first, to regain control of the waters off Isle Royale, thereby protecting France's fishing and commercial interests, and second, to capture Annapolis Royal, the only remaining British fortification in the vast area that was once Acadia. It was a month that witnessed both the commencement of regular patrols off the colonial coast by French men-of-war and the launching of a siege on the Nova Scotian capital. Yet, in reality, the colonial officials at Louisbourg had but one main objective that month: to drive British warships and New England privateers as far as possible from Isle Royale. By ordering the *Ardent* and *Caribou* to cruise the coast, not to proceed to Annapolis Royal, Duquesnel was reacting to the changed complexion of the war, demonstrating that the capture of the British fort was no longer a priority. Indeed, the only reason the attack on Annapolis went ahead at all was because Duvivier did not learn of the change in plans until early October, approximately a month after the decision was made at Louisbourg to concentrate on the war at sea.

In early September, after more than five weeks of travelling by sea and land, Duvivier's expeditionary force was at last approaching Annapolis Royal.[1] On 5 September De Renon, who had been dispatched by Duquesnel sometime during August, reached the expedition carrying news that Duvivier must have been eagerly awaiting. Duvivier was told that he could expect his naval support to sail into Annapolis Basin around 8 September. The information must have lifted Duvivier's spirits. Until that point the expedition had certainly not gone according to plan. The response of both the Acadians and the Micmacs was much less than had been expected, with the result that Duvivier was marching toward Annapolis with only some 280 men. Such a force was obviously insufficient[2] to compel the over 250 British within the fort to capitulate. The arrival of significant naval support, with heavy artillery, reinforcements and blockade potential, might yet bring about a victory.

Following De Renon's arrival, Duvivier began to manoeuvre his troops in preparation for the hostilities. He also set down detailed information on Annapolis harbour for the use of the French warships when they arrived. To improve the chances of that information reaching the captains of the warships, Duvivier gave one letter to an Acadian who was to sail by schooner to Cape Sable and another to a Micmac who was to travel overland to the same area. From there the letters were to be taken to Louisbourg, in the hope of encountering the *Ardent* and *Caribou* en route. On 8 September Duvivier made his presence known to the British by marching his force towards the fortifications and establishing a camp on a hill about a mile away. Painfully aware of his inadequate force, Duvivier attempted to deceive the British into thinking that he possessed twice as many troops as he really did. "He carefully arranged his men ... with outer ranks complete but the centre absolutely devoid of troops."[3] The deception worked so well that the lieutenant governor of Annapolis Royal, Paul Mascarene, was convinced that there were "Six or Seven hundred men" under Duvivier's command.[4]

The first attack on the fortifications was launched during the night of 9 September. To maximize the psychological impact on the besieged garrison as well as to "conceal the small numbers of the invading force,"[5] the assault took place in darkness, commencing at nine o'clock in the evening and lasting until four o'clock the next morning. A second attack of roughly the same duration was made two nights later. In neither case was an attempt made to capture the fort. Their intent was simply to harass the garrison so that by the time the warships arrived, the British would be amenable to discussing capitulation terms. On 15 September Duvivier dispatched his brother, Ensign Joseph Du Pont Duvivier, to carry a letter to Mascarene. Duvivier's letter declared that the British position was nearly hopeless and that terms of surrender should be settled. According to Mascarene, Duvivier's letter

> intimated that he expected a Seventy, a Sixty and a Fourty gunns Shipps, mann'd one third above their complement, with a Transport with two hundred and fifty men more of regular Troops with Cannon, mortars and other implements of war; that as he knew we could not resist that Force and must then surrender we could expect no other terms than to be made prisonners of Warr....[6]

Asserting that a French victory was a foregone conclusion, Duvivier offered Mascarene the possibility of an honourable

surrender. All the British commander had to do was to sign a capitulation that would come into effect when the French warships arrived and it was shown that they were as strong as he had indicated.

Mascarene balked at signing such an agreement and so informed Duvivier by noon on 16 September. Much to Mascarene's disappointment, all but three or four of the British officers in the garrison were "very ready to accept of the proposal, the dread of being made prisoners of war having no small influence with most." Due to the attitude of his officers, Mascarene allowed preliminary surrender negotiations to continue for several days, until he felt that he could prove to his officers that Duvivier had "no other intention than to entrapp us by sowing division amongst us and after further discourse ... it was unanimously resolv'd to break all parley with him...." To signal the end of the truce two shots were fired from the fort.[7]

Duvivier had little choice but to resume the harassment tactics he had employed earlier. On 23 September he began the night attacks again; however, this time the effect was different. Where before the raids and war cries had unsettled the defenders, this round of assaults was more or less dismissed by the British as a desperate move by a besieger without sufficient troops to force a surrender. In Mascarene's words, "their nightly attacks and daily skirmishes ... became more and more contemptible to the Garrison, as we found little more harm accruing to us than the disturbance in the night."[8] The siege had lasted more than two weeks and the expected French warships had still not arrived. Duvivier and his fellow officers must have gradually realized that further support would not be coming, that there had been some change in plans after De Renon left Louisbourg.

On 26 September their sagging spirits were given a temporary lift when they saw the sails of two vessels making for the harbour, but their joy ended when they realized that the approaching brigantine and sloop were British and were carrying reinforcements (53 Amerindians and rangers under Captain John Gorham)[9] from Boston. As in the mid-July Micmac siege of the fort, Governor Shirley had once again sent reinforcements to Annapolis Royal that by sheer luck arrived when the fort was under siege. The responses of the two sides to this development were predictable. On the one hand, the French and their native allies were bitterly disappointed and grew increasingly doubtful about their chances for success; on the other hand, the British were exultant and spent most of the night of 26 September "singing and enjoying themselves thoroughly."[10]

The arrival of the enemy reinforcements did not prompt Duvivier to withdraw. He had been sent to attack Annapolis Royal and was committed to stay until he received further orders from Duquesnel. The siege dragged on for another week until 2 October, a day Duvivier described as a "Jour malheureux," when *Compagnies franches* Captain Michel de Gannes de Falaise arrived from Louisbourg with word that the warships would definitely not be sailing to Annapolis Royal that fall and hence it was pointless to continue the siege. Duvivier was to return to Louisbourg and then sail to France where preparations for a spring 1745 attack on Annapolis were to be made over the winter. De Gannes himself, with 50 regular soldiers, had been ordered to winter in the Acadian settlements of Nova Scotia. The new instructions came as a disappointment to Duvivier. He had invested much time and effort in the expedition and knew that victory might have been his had the ships arrived when they were supposed to. Even as things stood, Duvivier felt there remained a chance for success as he believed the British garrison was running out of provisions. Yet the orders were clear so the following day, 3 October, the siege was lifted and the expeditionary force retreated towards Minas.

In Louisbourg, interest in the Nova Scotian campaign must have dropped off markedly since it had become apparent that enemy warships and privateers were imposing a virtual blockade on Isle Royale. The success or failure of Duvivier's expedition was of far less consequence to most of the residents of Louisbourg than the opening of the sea lanes to and from their colony. With armed British ships so close to the coast, pillaging raids became a strong possibility. Such a raid took place sometime during the late summer or early fall at the abandoned settlement of Petit de Grat, where the British went ashore to burn all of the houses and buildings.[11] When the *Ardent* and *Caribou* and some of the other warships in port began to cruise off the coast in September, the colonists, particularly the merchants, undoubtedly breathed sighs of relief. Although it was too much to hope that the warships would re-establish the kind of domination French vessels had enjoyed in May and June, it was not at all unreasonable to expect that they would be able to capture several enemy vessels and drive away most of the others. It would seem that the French were fairly successful in meeting the latter goal. The only recorded capture of the month took place on 11 September when the *Ardent*, commanded by Meschin, intercepted a brigantine north of Scatarie. October was better in that four British vessels were taken by Louisbourg ships, none particularly close to Isle Royale.[12]

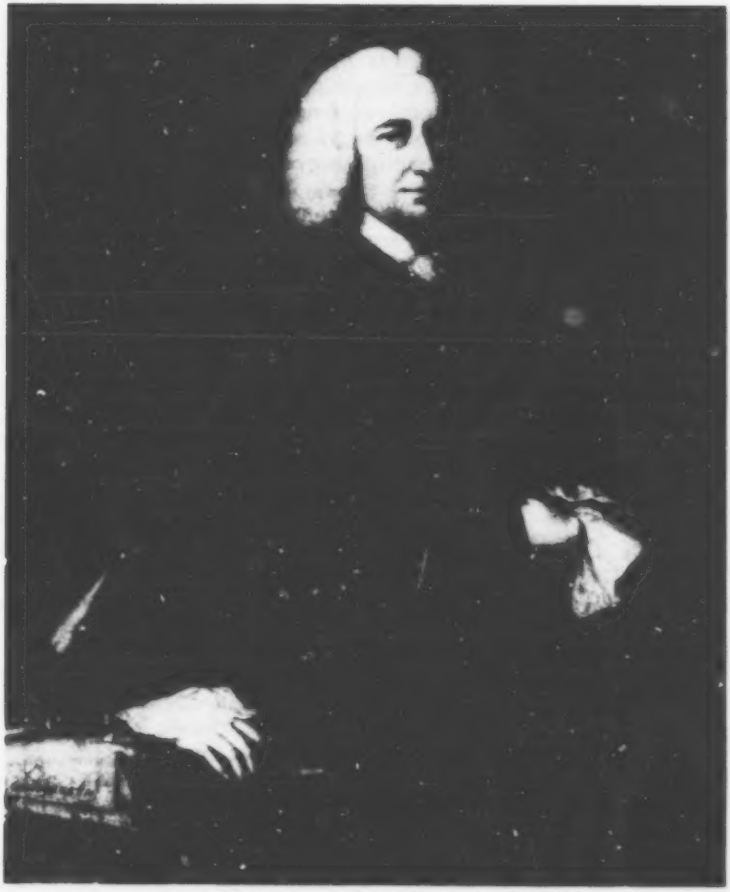
The relatively small number of prizes captured and the fact that by October Louisbourg privateers and warships were once again sailing in British waters indicates that the September patrols off Isle Royale had a significant impact in driving away enemy vessels. Thus September came to a close with some of the colonists feeling that the war at sea was beginning to shift slightly in their favour again; however, the more perceptive understood that the enemy vessels were being driven away mostly by the visiting warships, none of which was normally based at Louisbourg for any great period of time. The arrival and extended stay of the *Compagnie des Indes* ships was the major factor that had prompted the French authorities to commit so many warships to Louisbourg during the summer of 1744. Nothing guaranteed that they would be able, or indeed willing, to send the colony the same number of heavily armed vessels the following year. And without adequate naval protection in time of war, the fate of Isle Royale could never be secure.

Life in Town

The attempt by French warships to reassert sovereignty over the waters off Isle Royale and the besieging of Annapolis Royal were not likely the most talked-about events in Louisbourg that month. Little would have been known about the offshore patrols and even less about what was happening in Nova Scotia. Far more newsworthy in September, because of their immediate relevance to the people of Louisbourg, were the developments that took place on the question of a prisoner exchange between the French and British.

In late August or early September John Bradstreet returned to Louisbourg from Boston carrying Governor Shirley's qualified acceptance of Duquesnel's exchange scheme. The commandant was probably disappointed by Shirley's refusal to give up French prisoners for anyone other than healthy British soldiers. Nonetheless, that did not deter him from quickly agreeing to Shirley's terms; he had little choice. It is doubtful that he or anyone else in Louisbourg wanted to risk keeping the 300 to 400 prisoners over the coming winter. Once the decison was made to send most of the prisoners to Boston, preparations for the voyage began.

Three vessels were rented to sail to Boston: John Bradstreet's schooner *Ranger*, Michel Daccarrette's schooner *Magdelaine*, and Michel Rodrigue's sloop *Société*. Among them they



Tough in the negotiations over a prisoner exchange with the French, far-sighted in his policy of sending reinforcements to Annapolis Royal, William Shirley (1694-1771) played an instrumental role in the campaign of 1744 and early in 1745 took the lead in first urging and then organizing a major assault on Louisbourg. (National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.)

were to carry 340 men, women and children. The number of French prisoners in Boston was considerably less than that, so only the two Louisbourg vessels were required to make the return journey, at British expense.[13] Foodstuffs and other essential provisions were purchased from Louisbourg suppliers for the voyage. To make the trip more bearable, sizeable amounts of rum and beer were placed on board all three ships.[14] Sometime after the middle of September everything was ready for departure.

Before the prisoners were allowed to leave, Louisbourg officials attempted to convince them that the *Compagnie des Indes* ships would themselves be setting sail in a matter of days. Not only was this what the prisoners were told, but also the activities aboard the large merchant ships were such as to suggest an imminent departure. The attempted deception did not work. One prisoner, Captain John Mason, passed himself off as a Dutchman and a Jacobite, and won the confidence of the captain of one of the East India ships as well as the trust of some priests in port. Through these contacts he learned that the fleet would not be sailing for another two months.[15] Mason was not the only one to uncover the truth. Bradstreet and George Ryall obtained the same information from "some Irish Priests" in Louisbourg that September.[16] As soon as these men arrived in Boston they informed Governor Shirley of all they knew about Louisbourg and in particular about the *Compagnie des Indes* ships. Shirley in turn immediately wrote to London to advise his superiors of the probable November sailing of the French merchant fleet in the hope that the ships, "whose Value here is reported to be exceedingly great, may be intercepted by Some of his Majesty's Ships."[17]

The prisoners sailed out of Louisbourg harbour sometime during the latter half of September and landed in Boston on 2 October[18] (the same day de Gannes arrived in Duvivier's camp at Annapolis Royal with orders to lift the siege). Both the departure from Louisbourg and the arrival in Boston were noteworthy events that would have drawn large crowds in both towns. On Isle Royale the colonists watched the departure of the prisoners with feelings of relief. Not only would it mean less pressure on food supplies over the winter, but it would also mean the return home within a matter of weeks of many captured friends and relatives, such as Joannis Dolabaratz and the 80 men off the *Cantabre*.

The 340 people sent to Massachusetts did not constitute the entire prisoner-of-war population in Louisbourg. In the fall of 1744 an unspecified number of British prisoners were also sent

to Plaisance (Placentia), Newfoundland, where they were exchanged for French prisoners. A schooner from Louisbourg, the *St. Laurent*, was rented for the mission and Louis Loppinot de La Frésillière, a junior officer in the garrison, was assigned the responsibility for overseeing the exchange.[19] Those prisoners may have left Louisbourg around the same time as the much larger group sailed for Boston. When the prisoners embarked for Boston and Placentia, it signified the end of one of the more interesting chapters in the history of Louisbourg. Additional British would be brought to the capital for imprisonment in the months to come as more prizes were captured by French privateers and warships, but never again would they approach the numbers in the capital toward the end of the summer of 1744.

Another departure from the town that month held a special meaning for many inhabitants. On an unknown date fairly early in the month, two nuns of the Congregation of Notre-Dame, who had been in the colony for more than a decade, left Louisbourg aboard a ship heading for Montreal, where the mother-house of the community was located. The older of the two women, 66-year-old Marguerite Trottier (Sister Saint-Joseph), had served as the superior of the Congregation's mission at Louisbourg since her arrival in 1733. After 11 arduous years in the capital during which she struggled with severe financial problems, Trottier was returning to Canada in failing health. Accompanying her was a cousin, 51-year-old Marie-Josephte Lefebvre Belle-Isle (Sister Saint-Benoît), who had also come to Louisbourg in 1733. According to all contemporary accounts, the sisters of the Congregation of Notre-Dame were held in extremely high regard at Louisbourg.[20] When the two nuns, including the former superior in obviously poor health, sailed away, it was certainly a moment that touched the hearts of many residents. The four sisters of the community who remained in Louisbourg (who now had Marie-Marguerite-Daniel Arnaud, Sister Saint-Arsène, as their new superior) and many ordinary inhabitants were likely on the quay offering prayers for a safe journey on the day the ship left port. Marguerite Trottier never again set foot on the land of her birth. She died at sea on 6 October and was buried two days later in Quebec.[21]

September was also a month of arrivals in Louisbourg. There were 11 births that month, each of which was followed by a baptismal ceremony in the barracks chapel no later than one day after the birth. Among the most noteworthy births was that of a son born to a native couple (presumably Micmac), Jean

Guion Sauvage and Louise Pierre Jean Sauvagesse, on 1 September. The child was born in or very near Louisbourg as the baptism took place later the same day in town. Other births worthy of mention were that of a son to military officer Louis Leneuf de La Vallière and Marie-Charlotte Rousseau on 8 September, and that of a daughter to *Conseil Supérieur* councillor François-Marie de Goutin and Marie-Angélique de la Fosse on 19 September. On 26 September a daughter was born to Pierre Martissans and Jeanne Angélique Chavigny, their 11th child in 16 years of marriage.

In addition to being a month of numerous births, September was also the first month since June in which a marriage was held in Louisbourg. In fact there were two of them although neither was an ordinary service. Both were rehabilitations of marriages which had taken place elsewhere. The first, performed by Athanase Guégot on 3 September, gave the official sanction of the Roman Catholic Church to the union of Jacques Quartier and Jeanne Heckaste, who had been married "among the English" on an unknown date. The second involved an Irish couple, identified as Terré Donal and Sara MacMelun, whose marriage was rehabilitated by Guégot on 23 September for the "surety of their consciences." Only two burials were noted in parish records that September. On 12 September Jean Ricar from Saint-Malo died and was buried. Ten days later a sailor off the *Caribou*, Jean Centurie, was interred in the parish cemetery.[22]

Toward the end of September the attention of many people in Louisbourg turned increasingly to business matters relating to the colony's fishery. The next to last day of the month, the day set aside on the church calendar for the feast day of St. Michael, was "the traditional closing day of the summer fishing season ... the day on which debts and rents were paid."[23] Accordingly, fishing generally stopped by the middle of the month so that the next ten days to two weeks could be devoted to calculating and settling the accounts of the summer season. September brought with it not only the normal headaches involved in clearing up debts or obtaining appropriate payments, but also the realization that 1744 had been the worst year in the history of the Isle Royale fishery. Because of the war, especially because of British control of the waters off Isle Royale during the latter part of the summer, fish landings had dropped to a record low. The total value of the fishery for the year stood at approximately 1.5 million *livres*, nearly half a million *livres* below the figure for 1743 and less than half of the average figure for the 1730s.[24]

The cod fishery was the foundation upon which the Isle Royale economy was built. This man is filleting cod that have been gutted and headed by others at the same table. From here the cod will be dipped in a brine solution and taken to fish flakes for drying. (Photo by M. LeBlanc.)

The shortfall in fish catches was something about which everyone in the colony had reason to be worried. A prosperous fishery had been the solid base upon which French settlement on the island had first been established and it continued to be one of the main keys to the health of the Isle Royale economy. However, if the coast of the colony could not be adequately protected from enemy privateers and warships, as it had not been throughout an extended period in 1744, it was obvious that the fishery, like merchant trade, would suffer drastic losses. Sooner or later those losses would place the future of the entire colony in jeopardy. The only protection for the fishing and mercantile interests of Isle Royale was sufficient seapower to counteract the naval strength New England and Great Britain could commit to a war at sea. In 1744 the temporary enemy blockade of the colony had been serious but not crippling. The next year could quite conceivably be much worse. The deciding factor would probably be how many warships the imperial authorities in France would send out and how early they would arrive in the colony.

By the end of September the inhabitants of Louisbourg knew that the first season of warfare in their colony's history would soon be over. With the onset of colder weather there would be no more land campaigns until the next spring. Privateering might continue for another few months but not on the same scale as at mid-summer. During the 29 September celebrations marking the feast day of St. Michael probably not a few people expressed relief that the summer was finally over. After its auspicious beginning, the summer had been a time of significant disappointments and setbacks. No one could foresee the future, but one could at least hope for a more successful war effort in 1745. The most optimistic may even have looked for a peace settlement between France and Great Britain over the winter. Only then would life on the island return to normal. The last ships bound for France were to sail in late fall. Thereafter, as was the case every year, the inhabitants of Isle Royale would be without contact with the world overseas for four to six months. It would be a long wait, a long time to reflect on the events of 1744 and to speculate on what the spring of 1745 would bring.

Epilogue

The fall and winter of 1744 proved to be unusually eventful. In October Duquesnel, commandant of the colony since 1740, passed away. Replacing him on an acting basis was the king's lieutenant, Duchambon. On the last day of November a flotilla of 53 vessels, including the six *Compagnie des Indes* ships and the four warships that had been in Isle Royale waters since midsummer, set sail for France.[1] Aboard were over 4000 men, 115 of them British prisoners. The departure must have made a magnificent sight, but the town left behind would have presented "only a picture of sadness, much different from the spectacle the shipping season" brought.[2] According to a Boston newspaper interested in the destination and fate of the "richly laden" East India ships, after the flotilla left "there remained only 6 or 7 vessels in the harbour, which were tied up for the winter."[3] The malaise produced by the end of the shipping season was deeper than normal in late 1744 because more than 1000 of the men who had sailed away were fishermen, sailors, *engagés* (indentured servants) and cannoneers who would normally have wintered in the colony.[4] Fear of what the war might bring over the winter and following spring undoubtedly lay behind the mass exodus; however, all was not safe in the convoy. Wind, weather and British warships broke up the group and at least one of the East Indiamen, the *Argonaute*, was taken as a prize.[5]

In late December the atmosphere within the town can only have gone from bad to worse. On the morning of 27 December all but a few of the soldiers in the garrison mutinied, demanding better food, more firewood and complete uniforms.[6] For days afterward the "civilian population was terrified and the officers did not dare to oppose their men."[7] At length the men were appeased and order restored, but the months that followed were without doubt a time of tension for most of the townspeople. For their parts, Duchambon and Bigot had not only to cope with the grave internal problems, but also to prepare for the next season of warfare, the spring of 1745. They drafted plans for attacks on Annapolis Royal and Placentia,[8] and beseeched the minister of the Marine to send as soon as possible the following year more soldiers and more warships to protect Louisbourg

itself. As Duchambon put it, "this place can never be secure with such a small garrison if it is ever besieged."[9]

In May 1745 Louisbourg was besieged on land by a large force from New England and blockaded at sea by a combined British and colonial fleet. After an assault of almost seven weeks the capital of Isle Royale fell into British hands and most of its inhabitants were deported to France, where they awaited the outcome of the war. Most returned to Louisbourg in 1749 following the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, only to suffer yet another siege and deportation in 1758 during the Seven Years' War.

Appendix
1744: A Calendar of Events

The following calendar of events focusses on the summer of 1744, hence the greatest detail is to be found on the dates falling within the period 1 June to 30 September. Events before and after that period are mentioned only if they were considered to have special significance for the inhabitants of Louisbourg. There were also many events of considerable importance, such as the arrival of captured British vessels in port, the precise dates of which are unknown and therefore not listed. Finally, the presence of the British prisoners in town is not an "event" but should be kept in mind as an extremely important factor of life in Louisbourg throughout that summer.

January

1 The Circumcision (feast day marking the circumcision of the infant Jesus).

6 Epiphany.

February

2 The Presentation and the Purification (feast day celebrating the presentation of Jesus in the Temple by the Virgin Mary).

19 Ash Wednesday, the beginning of Lent.

25 Feast Day of St. Matthias the Apostle (1744 being a leap year, this feast day was celebrated on the 25th; in other years it was on the 24th).

26, 28, 29 Ember Days - Wednesday, Friday and Saturday after the first Sunday in Lent; a time of fasting.

March

15 Louis XV declares war on George II, King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover.

18 Minister of the Marine, the Comte de Maurepas, writes Jean-Baptiste-Louis Le Prévost Duquesnel, the commandant, and François Bigot, the *commissaire-ordonnateur* of Isle Royale, informing them of the war.

April

19 Feast Day of St. Joseph, First Patron of New France.

25 Incarnation and Annunciation Day.

27 Ship sails from Saint-Malo for Louisbourg carrying the official despatches of the minister of the Marine, including his letter announcing the outbreak of hostilities.

5, 6, 7 Easter Sunday, Monday and Tuesday.

9 George II of Great Britain declares war on Louis XV of France.

May

1 Feast Day of St. Philip and St. James (the Less) the Apostles.

3 Ship from Saint-Malo arrives in Louisbourg with the news of war. Thousands of miles away the *Argonaute*, one of the *Compagnie des Indes* ships, rounds the Cape of Good Hope.

11, 12, 13 Rogation Days (three days preceding the movable feast of Ascension, which is always a Thursday); a time of abstinence.

14 Ascension Day

mid-May to 22 Preparations under way for the expedition against Canso.

23 Expedition under François Du Pont Duvivier's command sets out for Canso. A merchant vessel out of Glasgow sails into Boston harbour carrying the first news to the American colonists that Great Britain is at war with France.

24 Pentecost (Whit Sunday). Duvivier expedition arrives in Canso during the early morning hours. Around dawn the assault begins. The British garrison makes a brief show of resistance before capitulating.

25 Monday after Pentecost (feast day). The *Argonaute* reaches Ascension Island and its captain receives instructions to head for Louisbourg.

26 Tuesday after Pentecost (feast day).

27, 28, 29 Ember Days - Wednesday, Friday and Saturday after Pentecost; a time of fasting. On the 29th the *Argonaute* sails for Isle Royale.

late May — On an unspecified day in late May the Duvivier expedition returns to Louisbourg with prisoners and booty.

June

early days — Vessel sent to Port Toulouse with supplies for the garrison there; returns to Louisbourg bringing six cannons.

4 — The *Signe*, commanded by François Bauchet de Saint-Martin, captures a British prize near Canso. Two *Compagnies franches* soldiers die in the hospital at Louisbourg: Jean Camina *dit* Beauregard and François Caillou *dit* la Lancette.

8 — The *Signe* captures a prize near Sable Island.

9 — Birth at Louisbourg of a daughter to Guillaume La Croyx and Marguerite Lango; baptised in the barracks chapel later the same day by Athanase Guégot, Recollet curé of Louisbourg.

10 — Birth at Louisbourg of a son to Louis Félix Vallée, lieutenant of the artillery company, and Marie-Josephe Le Large; baptised in the barracks chapel by Guégot. Out at sea the *Signe*, commanded by Saint-Martin, captures a prize. The *Succès*, to be commanded by Pierre Morpain, is hired to serve as the coast-guard vessel of Isle Royale.

11 — Two more prizes taken by Saint-Martin's *Signe*. Near Canso Island Jean Fougères of Port Toulouse captures an English schooner without possessing an authorized commission as a privateer. Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts asks the General Court of the colony for support for a series of defensive measures, including sending reinforcements to Annapolis Royal.

12 — Marriage in the barracks chapel of Jean Le Bezot, a native of France, and 16-year-old Marie-Louise Paris, of Louisbourg. Out at sea the *Marie Josephe*, commanded by Pierre Detcheverry, takes a British prize and the *Signe*, under Saint-Martin, captures a British schooner.

13 — Birth of a son to Gabriel Rousseau de Villejouin, captain of one of the *Compagnies franches*, and Anne Angélique de Gannes de Falaise; baptised in the barracks chapel by Isidore Caulet, Recollet military chaplain. In Massachusetts the

June

House of Representatives votes to raise 500 volunteers to defend the frontiers of the colony, but no commitment is made to send troops to Nova Scotia. Reports of the fall of Canso begin to reach Boston. The *St. Charles*, a privateer commanded by Nicolas Baron, and the *St. Joseph*, a transport vessel commanded by François Briand, sail out of Louisbourg heading for the Newfoundland coast.

15 Françoise Pugnant, age 34 and the wife of Jean Bernard, dies in Louisbourg; her newborn child had died a month earlier. Paul Mascarene, lieutenant governor of Annapolis Royal, receives word of the fall of Canso.

16 Françoise Pugnant is buried in the parish cemetery by Guégot. On the Newfoundland coast the *St. Charles* and *St. Joseph* pillage an abandoned British fishing station. The *St. Joseph* is sent back to Louisbourg with all the booty (dried cod, fish oil, salt).

18 The *St. Charles*, under Baron's command, captures two British sloops at Burin. Thomas Hamel, in command of the *Tourneur de Grandville*, captures a British brigantine.

19 Burial in the parish cemetery by Guégot of the infant son of Captain Rousseau de Villejouin.

20 Birth of a daughter to Jean-Jacques Le Moine and Marie Rau.

21 Le Moine girl is baptised in the barracks chapel by Caulet. The *Bailliage* prosecutor, Jean Delaborde, submits his recommendation for the sentence to be given to Valérien Louis *dit* le Bourguignon, accused of theft. Jean Vildieu, a 26- to 27-year-old native of Brittany, dies in Louisbourg.

22 Bourguignon is interrogated for the last time in the chambers of the *Conseil Supérieur*; he still denies his guilt. Jean Vildieu is buried in the parish cemetery by Guégot.

23 Birth of a son to Pierre Derieux and Jeanne Dubourg. In Boston the House of Representatives decides that two volunteer companies of 60 men each can be raised and sent to Annapolis Royal.

June

24 Feast Day of the Birth of St. John the Baptist. Baptism in the barracks chapel by Caulet of the Derieux boy. The Massachusetts House of Representatives votes to raise an additional 500 men to defend the colony from possible French and Indian attacks.

25 Birth of a son to Jean-Baptiste Dyon and Anne-Magdeleine Lachaume.

26 Dyon child baptised in the barracks chapel by Guégot.

28 Birth of a daughter to Jodocus Koller and Marie Catherine Auger; baptised in the barracks chapel by Caulet.

29 Feast Day of St. Peter and St. Paul the Apostles. Out to sea Hamel's *Tourneur de Grandville* captures a British schooner heading for Hamburg.

30 Governor Shirley, in receipt of a letter from Mascarene at Annapolis Royal asking for reinforcements as soon as possible, requests the House of Representatives take prompt measures to bolster the tenuous British hold on Nova Scotia.

July

1 Massachusetts House of Representatives increases the financial inducement for volunteering to go to Annapolis Royal from £20 to £25 but refuses to authorize an increase in the number of men to be sent there beyond the 120 already approved.

3 Baptism of a girl born that day to Jean Barré and Perrine Bonnier; baptism performed by Guégot in the barracks chapel. Servanne Bonnier intervenes in a family dispute between Angélique Butel and Butel's daughter, and is embroiled in a lengthy exchange of insults with Butel.

4 The *Cantabre*, with an 80-man crew, commanded by Joannis Dolabaratz, is captured 15 leagues off Cape Cod by the *Prince of Orange*, commanded by Edward Tyng. Angélique Butel submits a written complaint to the acting judge of the *Bailliage*, Michel Hertel de Cournoyer, about Servanne Bonnier's behaviour. Cournoyer directs that all witnesses appear before him at nine in

the morning of 6 July. A son is born to Jean Lavalde and Catherine Heleine Pinet.

5 Baptism in the barracks chapel by Caulet of the Lavalde child. Birth, and baptism in the chapel by Caulet, of a daughter of François Heningue, a soldier in the Karrer Regiment, and Anne Marie Stein. Out to sea, Philippe Leneuf de Beaubassin, in command of the *César*, captures two vessels off Cape Cod.

6 The *César* captures another vessel off the Massachusetts coast. In Louisbourg, 13 witnesses testify before the *Bailliage* on the Bonnier-Butel shouting match. An Irishman named Thomas Bernard dies and is buried by Guégot in the parish cemetery.

7 Servanne Bonnier submits to the *Bailliage* her version of her verbal clash with Butel. The *Bailliage* prosecutor, Jean Delaborde, decides that Bonnier should appear in person before the court for questioning.

8 The coast guard of Isle Royale, the *Succès*, commanded by Morpain, captures two British prizes, the *Nancy* and the *Kinsbury*.

10 The court usher of the *Bailliage*, Joseph-Félix Chesnaye, informs Servanne Bonnier that she is to appear before the *Bailliage* on 17 July at nine in the morning.

11 The British settlers at Annapolis Royal become aware of the approach of a force of 300 Micmac warriors and a few French.

12 Annapolis Royal is attacked. Before the assault is repulsed, some buildings are set on fire and two British soldiers killed. Two vessels sail from Boston carrying 70 soldiers and supplies to reinforce the garrison at Annapolis.

15 The first of two vessels carrying British prisoners from Louisbourg arrives in Boston.

16 The reinforcements from Massachusetts arrive at Annapolis Royal. The siege by the Micmacs is lifted and they retreat to the Minas area. At Louisbourg, the first of six *Compagnie des Indes* vessels, the *Philibert*, enters harbour.

17 Servanne Bonnier is questioned by the court of the *Bailliage*. The *Argonaute*, another ship be-

July

longing to the *Compagnie des Indes*, reaches port. John Bradstreet's schooner arrives in Boston with more prisoners and Duquesnel's request for a general exchange of French and British prisoners.

19 A son is born to André Carrerot and Marie-Josephte Chéron.

20 The Carrerot child is baptised in the barracks chapel by Guégot. Four fishing vessels from Louisbourg are captured by British privateers.

21 A daughter is born to Michel Rodrigue and Marguerite Lartigue.

22 The Rodrigue child is baptised in the barracks chapel by Guégot. Well out to sea the warship *Ardent*, en route to Louisbourg, captures a British vessel. A third *Compagnie des Indes* ship, probably the *Pientieue*, arrives in Louisbourg.

last week of month The warship *Caribou* arrives in Louisbourg from Canada.

25 Feast Day of St. James the Apostle.

26 Feast Day of Ste. Anne.

27 Massachusetts House of Representatives passes legislation making all trade with the French illegal. The fourth and fifth *Compagnie des Indes* ships to make port, the *Mars* and *Baleine*, sail into harbour.

29 Duvivier expedition to capture Annapolis Royal sets out from Louisbourg with the *Succès* and four smaller vessels. Angélique Butel requests the *Bailliage* to conclude her case against Servanne Bonnier.

30 Heavy winds force the vessels in the Duvivier expedition to seek safe anchorages in Gabarus and Louisbourg.

31 A second contingent of British reinforcements (53 men, including some Pigwacket Indians) sets out from Boston for Annapolis Royal. Off Long Island, New York, the *Signe*, commanded by Saint-Martin, captures two vessels, one of which is let go due to a shortage of provisions aboard the *Signe*, and 28 of the prisoners are released.

August

2 All five vessels in the Duvivier expedition arrive at Port Toulouse. The body of a soldier, Jean Marie DuCiel dit St. Amant, who had deserted on 11 February 1744, is found in the woods near Louisbourg.

3 The *Charmante* (109 men, 26 guns) is captured by two British warships only four leagues from Louisbourg. In the vicinity of Port Toulouse the Duvivier expedition runs into strong headwinds and is forced to anchor.

4 The Duvivier expedition sets out for Port La Joye, Isle Saint-Jean. In Louisbourg, 80-year-old Anne Guion Després, the widow Chevalier, dies. An inventory of her possessions is taken that evening by officials of the *Bailliage*.

5 Després is buried in the parish cemetery by Guégot. Nineteen-year-old Magdelaine Paris dies in town. Off the coast of the American colonies, Saint-Martin's *Signe* captures a British vessel.

6 A French brigantine is captured near Louisbourg by two New England privateers. Duvivier lands at Port La Joye and adds 22 members of the garrison there to his force. The *Succès* is left with the then commmandant of Isle Saint-Jean, Louis du Pont Duchambon. In Louisbourg, Magdelaine Paris is buried in the parish cemetery by Guégot. In Boston, Governor Shirley replies to Duquesnel's request for a prisoner exchange with the counterproposal that he will exchange French prisoners only for able-bodied British soldiers. Shirley gives up three French prisoners for the more than 20 prisoners Duquesnel has sent. As a result, Bradstreet has to locate additional crew to man his schooner to take Shirley's letter to Isle Royale.

7 The Duvivier expedition sails from Port La Joye for the Chignecto Isthmus.

8 The expedition lands at Baie Verte and begins its journey overland to Beaubassin. Seven leagues from Louisbourg the *Heron* (118 men, 25 guns) is captured by two British warships; three leagues from Louisbourg a schooner is taken by two New England privateers.

August

9 Birth of twins to an Irish couple, Thomas Hill and Marie d'Esem, probably aboard the *Signe*.

10 Feast Day of St. Lawrence the Deacon and Martyr. Three leagues from Louisbourg a French ship is captured by two New England privateers.

11 A son is born in Louisbourg to André Ballet and Angélique Frican and baptised in the barracks chapel by Caulet.

12 The *Fulere* (or *Fulrie*), the sixth of the *Compagnie des Indes* ships, reaches Louisbourg.

13 The Duvivier expedition arrives at Beaubassin. In Louisbourg a girl is born to Joannis Echanté and Marie Joanne Voert (?).

14 Baptism by Recollet priest Eugene Le Breton of the Echanté girl. A son is born to Jean-Chrysostome Loppinot, an ensign in the *Compagnies franches*, and Madelaine Bottier; baptism in the barracks chapel by Caulet. Birth of a daughter to Jean-Baptiste Lannelongue and Anne Richard. In the waters off Newfoundland, Morpain, in command of the *Caribou*, captures two prizes.

15 The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Baptism in the barracks chapel by Recollet hospital chaplain Alexis Guillou of an 11-month-old son of two residents of the fishing settlement of Cadrez (probably Cap de Ré), Newfoundland, Daniel Rouque and Anne Necnemaire. Baptism by Guégot of the Lannelongue girl.

16 The French warship *Ardent*, commanded by Meschin, reaches Louisbourg.

17 In Nova Scotia, Duvivier sends most of his soldiers, some Acadian volunteers and a few Micmacs by boat to Minas. A girl is born in Louisbourg to Jacques Blein and Françoise Durant.

18 The French warship *Brillant* arrives in Louisbourg. Birth and baptism of a son to Louis Gilber and Marie Goblin; baptism in barracks chapel by Le Breton. Duvivier himself leaves Beaubassin for Minas.

19 Daughter of Jacques Blein and Françoise Durant is baptised in the barracks chapel by Caulet. Twins of Irish prisoners Thomas Hill and Marie

August

d'Esem are also baptised by Caulet in the barracks chapel.

20 Duvivier arrives by boat at Minas.

21 Duvivier assigns two of his officers, le Chevalier Duvivier and le Chevalier Duchambon, to carry a message to the Acadian deputies at the settlements of Rivière des Canards and Pisiquid.

22 Birth and baptism of a son to Claude Simoneau and Philippe Lagarique; baptism by Guégot in the barracks chapel.

23 Death in Louisbourg of 47-year-old Louis François Mervin.

24 Feast Day of St. Bartholomew the Apostle. Burial of Mervin in the parish cemetery by Guégot.

25 Feast Day of St. Louis, King of France (Louis IX). Birth of a daughter to Pierre Sanglard, a sergeant in one of the *Compagnies franches*, and Anne Dardy; baptism in the barracks chapel by Caulet.

27 Seventy Malecites arrive at Minas to join Duvivier's force. In Louisbourg a daughter is born to Baptiste Corporon and Marie Charlotte Bouris.

28 The day-old Corporon girl is baptised in the barracks chapel by Caulet. At Minas, Duvivier distributes firearms to the Malecite warriors.

29 Duvivier gives the Malecites a feast.

30 Powder and shot are distributed to the Malecites; the entire Duvivier expedition sets out overland for Annapolis Royal. In Louisbourg a sailor from the *Caribou* drowns in the harbour.

September

first half of month Ship sails from Louisbourg for Canada with two nuns of the Congregation of Notre-Dame aboard: Marguerite Trottier (Sister Saint-Joseph), superior of the mission at Louisbourg for 11 years, and Marie-Josephte Lefebvre Belle-Isle (Sister Saint-Benoît).

1 Born on this day are a son to Jean Guion Sauvage and Louise Pierre Jean Sauvagesse, and a daughter to Ambroise Zemard and Marguerite Dian. Both children are baptised by Guégot in the barracks chapel.

September

2 Second inventory of the widow Chevalier's possessions is taken by ***Bailliage*** officials.

3 Rehabilitation by Guégot of the marriage of Jacques Quartier and Jeanne Heckaste. Birth of a son to Jean Harnois and Marguerite Pinet; baptised by Guégot in the barracks chapel.

5 De Renon reaches the Duvivier expedition with Duquesnel's message that Duvivier can expect his naval support to sail into Annapolis harbour around 8 September.

6-7 Duvivier manoeuvres his force in preparation for the assault on the British fort.

8 Feast Day of the Birth of the Blessed Virgin. At Annapolis Royal Duvivier marches his force in sight of the British, with the ranks so arranged that it appears that he has 600 to 700 men rather than the actual 280. In Louisbourg the day witnesses the birth of a daughter to Pierre Labrouche and Marie-Geneviève Chevalier and the birth of a son to Louis Leneuf de la Vallière and Marie-Charlotte Rousseau. The Labrouche infant is baptised by Guégot in the barracks chapel.

9 The Leneuf de la Vallière child is baptised by Le Breton. A son is born to Martin Heron and Jeanne L'equai. Out at sea a fishing vessel from Louisbourg is captured off Newfoundland. At Annapolis Royal the French force launches an attack on the British fort at nine o'clock in the evening. The assault lasts until four the next morning.

10 The Heron child is baptised by Le Breton in the barracks chapel.

11 A British brigantine is captured by the *Ardent* off the coast of Isle Royale north of Scatarie. At Annapolis Royal a second French attack begins at ten o'clock in the evening. It lasts until four the next morning. In Louisbourg a daughter is born to Pierre Herpin and Marie Desroches; baptised by Guégot.

12 Jean Ricar, from Saint-Malo, dies and is buried in the parish cemetery; service by Guégot.

13 A daughter is born to Noel Rosse and Marie Herpin.

September

14 Holy Cross Day (while not a feast day, it is the day by which one of the four periods of Ember Days is set). The Rosse infant is baptised by Recollet Paulin Lozach.

15 At Annapolis Duvivier sends a letter to Mascarene outlining the naval support he is expecting and requesting the lieutenant governor of the town to conclude preliminary terms of capitulation. Mascarene refuses to agree but many of his officers feel otherwise so a truce is agreed upon while representatives of Mascarene and Duvivier discuss the possibility of surrender.

16, 18, 19 Ember Days - Wednesday, Friday and Saturday after Holy Cross Day; a time of fasting. On the 19th a daughter is born to François-Marie de Goutin and Marie-Angélique de la Fosse; the infant is baptised by Guégot.

mid to late month Three vessels carrying 340 prisoners (men, women and children) sail for Boston. Around the same time a single vessel with additional prisoners may have departed for Placentia, Newfoundland, where they are also to be exchanged for French prisoners.

21 Feast Day of St. Matthew the Apostle.

22 A sailor off the *Caribou*, Jean Centurie, is buried in the parish cemetery.

23 The truce at Annapolis Royal ends. At ten o'clock that evening Duvivier launches an assault on the fort that lasts until four the next morning. In Louisbourg the marriage of an Irish couple, Terré Donal and Sara MacMelun, is rehabilitated by Guégot.

26 Birth of a daughter to Pierre Martissans and Jeanne Angélique Chavigny. At Annapolis Royal a brigantine and sloop carrying reinforcements sent by Governor Shirley sails into harbour.

27 The Martissans child is baptised in the barracks chapel by Le Breton.

29 Feast Day of St. Michael the Archangel; traditional closing day of the summer fishing season when all debts and rents are due.

30 Birth of a daughter to Noel Amiot and Marguerite Bois; baptised by Guégot.

October

2 *Compagnies franches* Captain Michel de Gannes de Falaise arrives in Duvivier's camp at Annapolis Royal with the news that no warships will be sent to support his siege. The three vessels from Louisbourg carrying the British prisoners arrive in Boston. (Sometime thereafter French prisoners in Boston are released and taken to Louisbourg.)

6 Marguerite Trottier (Sister Saint-Joseph) dies aboard ship near Quebec.

9 Duquesnel dies and is buried beneath the floor of the barracks chapel.

21 The *Succès* is taken out of service as the Isle Royale coast guard.

28 Feast Day of St. Simon and St. Jude the Apostles.

November

1 All Saints Day.

29 First Sunday in Advent - the beginning of a period in which marriages are prohibited.

30 Feast Day of St. Andrew the Apostle. A huge fleet of 53 vessels and roughly 4000 men sail from Louisbourg to France. The largest of the ships are four French warships and the six *Compagnie des Indes* vessels.

December

3 Feast Day of St. François Xavier, Second Patron of New France.

8 Feast Day of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

16, 18, 19 Ember Days - Wednesday, Friday and Saturday after the third Sunday in Advent; a time of fasting.

21 Feast Day of St. Thomas the Apostle.

25 Christmas Day.

26 Feast Day of St. Stephen, First Martyr.

27 Feast Day of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist. Soldiers mutiny.

Endnotes

Background to the Summer of 1744

1 Unless stated otherwise, the material in this introductory section is based on the accounts in John Stewart McLennan's Louisbourg from its Foundation to its Fall, 1713-58, 3rd ed. rev. (Sydney: Fortress Press, 1969) and George A. Rawlyk's Yankees at Louisbourg (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1967), supplemented by primary research into the documents they cited.

2 These figures are based on a table in B.A. Balcom, "The Cod Fishery of Isle Royale, 1713-58," manuscript on file, Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park, Louisbourg, Nova Scotia, 1979.

3 This section is based on a variety of general works on the period, the most useful of which was Walter L. Dorn, Competition for Empire, 1740-1763 (New York: Harper and Bros., 1940).

4 Ibid, p. 129.

5 The above-cited works by McLennan and Rawlyk provide a general interpretation of the events of May 1744.

6 Paris. Archives Nationales. Archives des Colonies (hereafter cited as AN Colonies), $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fols. 3-7v, Duquesnel and Bigot, 9 May 1744.

7 Ibid., Vol. 25, fols. 83-83v, Bigot, 1 Aug. 1743; ibid., fols. 91-96, Bigot, 12 Aug. 1743.

8 Ibid., B, Vol. 78, fol. 386v, Maurepas to Bigot, 3 March 1744.

9 Ibid., fols. 388, 388v, Maurepas to Duquesnel and Bigot, 18 March 1744. The original French quote is "les premiers moments de la rupture seront le plus précieux pour le succès de ces armements."

10 Ibid., $C^{11}C$, Vol. 12, fol. 153v, "Bordereau ... 1744," 2 April 1746.

11 George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., p. 5.

12 AN Colonies, $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fol. 128v, Bigot to Maurepas, 16 Nov. 1744.

13 The Boston Evening Post, 10 Dec. 1744.

June

1 AN Colonies, B, Vol. 78, fols. 388-388v, Maurepas to Duquesnel and Bigot, 18 March 1744.

2 Ibid., $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fols. 8-10v, Duquesnel and Bigot, 9 May 1744.

3 At least two British prizes were taken by French vessels before the end of May but neither was taken by a privateer outfitted at Louisbourg. On 30 April the Phélypeaux, sailing from France under the command of Pierre Guillaume Duruble, captured a British brigantine, identified as the Omble, in mid-Atlantic, while on 4 May Mathurin Fleury, returning to Louisbourg from Saint-Malo in the Ondromague, captured a British boat described as the Penbrock. The prizes are described in Paris. Archives Nationales. Section Ancienne (hereafter cited as AN Ancienne), G^5, Carton 258, Amirauté, Conseil des Prises.

4 George A. Rawlyk (op. cit., p. 22) stated that word of the capture of Canso reached Boston between 15 and 22 June; however, a report on the fall of Canso appeared in the 31 May issue of the Boston Weekly News-Letter. Allowing for the variation between the Julian and Gregorian calendars would place that news story around 10 June.

5 AN Ancienne, G^5, Carton 258, Amirauté, Conseil des Prises.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid. Other privateers included Nicolas Baron, Pierre Detcheverry and Thomas Hamel. See Appendix A.

8 Ibid.

9 George A. Rawlyk, op cit., p. 20.

10 France. Archives Départementales. Charente-Maritime (La Rochelle) (hereafter cited as ACM), B, 275, fols. 69-74. Terence Allan Crowley discusses Duvivier's business side in "Privileged Entrepreneurs: The Louisbourg Officer Corps and Commerce" (paper read at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, June 1978, London, Ont.).

11 ACM, B, 275, fols. 64v-67, 21 June 1744.

12 AN Colonies, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 12, "Bordereau ... 1744," fol. 133v.

13 George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., p. 20; Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1966-), Vol. 3, pp. 474-6.

14 There are two different totals for the cost of the Succès. The figure is slightly over 33 160 livres in one bordereau (AN Colonies, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 12, fol. 166v) and roughly 32 630 livres in another (ibid., $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fol. 138v).

15 Ibid., $C^{11}C$, Vol. 12, "Bordereau ... 1744," fols. 162-166v.

16 Ibid., fols. 141v, 145v, 146.

17 The summary of the New England, principally Massachusetts, response in June 1744 is based on George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., pp. 16-26.

18 The statement is based on comparative evidence. The New England newspapers in 1744 contain many reports concerning the war and events on Cape Breton or at sea. Some of them were accurate, others exaggerated. In Louisbourg in late 1743 there was a rumour circulating that the British had demolished the fortifications at Annapolis Royal in preparation for rebuilding them in brick in the spring of 1744 (AN Colonies, $C^{11}B$, Vol. 25, fols. 78, 78v, 9 Nov. 1743). That story had been brought to the capital by a resident of Petit de Grat and was false. Undoubtedly similar stories with little or no basis in truth were circulating in Louisbourg in 1744.

19 W.G. Godfrey, "John Bradstreet at Louisbourg: Emergence or Re-emergence?" Acadiensis, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Autumn 1974), p. 109.

20 Ibid. Godfrey provides an interesting description of Bradstreet's activities at Louisbourg in peace and war.

21 Paris. Archives Nationales. Section Outre-Mer (hereafter cited as AN Outre-Mer), G^{1}, Vol. 407, Reg. I, fol. 35, 20 Sept. 1739.

22 W.G. Godfrey, op. cit., p. 109.

23 In a letter from Governor Shirley to the Duke of Newcastle dated 7 July, Shirley stated that Bradstreet had arrived the day before from Louisbourg. Converting the calendar then in use in the American colonies into the modern calendar means that Bradstreet arrived in Boston on 17 July. William Shirley, Correspondence of William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commander in America, 1731-1760, ed. Charles H. Lincoln (New York: Macmillan, 1912), Vol. 1, p. 132.

24 In late September approximately 340 sailed from Louisbourg for Boston. George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., p. 6.

25 The bordereau entries for the rent of the three buildings in 1744 is in AN Colonies, $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fol. 160v, 16 Nov. 1744.

26 Ibid., Vol. 30, fols. 228-229v, 25 May 1751.

27 Ibid., Vol. 26, fol. 160v, 16 Nov. 1744.

28 With two exceptions, the information on marriages, births and deaths comes from AN Outre-Mer, G^{1}, Vol. 407, Reg. II. The exceptions are the two soldiers who died on 4 June;

in their case the source is AN Colonies, D^2C, Vol. 53, "Rolle general des troupes ... en 1749."

29 AN Outre-Mer, G^2, Vol. 187, fols. 128-334, Oct. 1743 to Oct. 1744.

30 Ibid.

July

1 George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., pp. 20, 21; AN Colonies, $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fols. 32-36, Duchambon and Bigot, 4 Nov. 1744; AN Ancienne, G^5, Carton 258, Amirauté, Conseil des Prises.

2 George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., p. 21.

3 AN Ancienne, G^5, Carton 258, Amirauté, Conseil des Prises.

4 Great Britain. Public Record Office (hereafter cited as PRO), Adm. I, Vol. 3879, "A List of Prizes....," 5 Nov. 1744.

5 George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., pp. 7-9, 23-5.

6 Ibid., p. 9.

7 William Shirley, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 134, Shirley to the Lords of Trade, 25 July 1744.

8 AN Colonies, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 12, fol. 145v, "Bordereau ... 1744," 2 April 1746; ibid., $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fol. 180v, "Bordereau ... 1744," 9 Nov. 1744.

9 George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., p. 10.

10 AN Colonies, E, 169, "Journal de m^r. duvivier," p. 3.

11 William Shirley, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 132, Shirley to Newcastle, 7 July 1744; W.G. Godfrey, op. cit., pp. 109, 110. The name of Bradstreet's schooner is given in AN Colonies, $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fol. 160, 16 Nov. 1744.

12 John Stewart McLennan, op. cit., p. 112.

13 Ibid.

14 W.G. Godfrey, op. cit., pp. 109-11. Godfrey used the old-style (Julian calendar) dates throughout his article when discussing events recorded on British documents; I have converted the dates to the Gregorian calendar.

15 Information on the Compagnie des Indes ships can be found in PRO, Adm. I, Vol. 3817, in the letters written to Governor Shirley by people who had been imprisoned at Louisbourg. See also Christopher Moore, "Merchant Trade in Louisbourg, Ile Royale," MA thesis, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, 1977, p. 1.

16 PRO, High Court of the Admiralty, 32, Vol. 97/2.

17 John Stewart McLennan, op. cit., pp. 117, 118.

18 PRO, Adm. I, Vol. 3817, No. 6, Bradstreet and Ryall to Shirley, 21 Sept. 1744. When the ships left Louisbourg in

the fall they carried approximately 1200 men among them. Paris. Archives Nationales. Archives de la Marine (hereafter cited as AN Marine), 4 JJ 8, 4e Div., No. 58, portefeuille 19, pièce 13, between pp. 37 and 38, "Liste des Vaisseaux de Guerre, de la Compagnie ... Partis de Louisbourg le 30e novembre 1744."

19 Boston Weekly News-Letter, 20 Sept. 1744.

20 All information on births, deaths and marriages comes from AN Outre-Mer, G^1, Vol. 407, Reg. II, fols. 28v-45v.

21 The summary of the Bonnier-Butel incident is based on the documents in AN Outre-Mer, G^2, Vol. 199-2, pièce 190, "Procedure Criminelle instruite a la requete de angelique Butel ... Contre Servanne Bonnier, 1744-45." The original of the French quote is "une Bougre de putain qui aimant bien à Baiser, mais qu'elle n'aimoit point ses enfans."

22 George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., p. 25.

August

1 The account of the Duvivier expedition is based on the "Journal de mr. duvivier" in AN Colonies, E, 169.

2 George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., p. 14.

3 AN Colonies, E, 169, "Journal de mr. duvivier."

4 AN Ancienne, G^5, Carton 258, Amirauté, Conseil des Prises.

5 AN Colonies, $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fols. 34, 34v, Duchambon and Bigot, 4 Nov. 1744.

6 PRO, Adm. I, Vol. 3879, "A List of French Prizes ... from the 29th March 1744 to the 29th of September following," signed by Andrew Belcher; ibid., "Prizes taken and Condemned in Newfoundland....," W. Keen, 4 Nov. 1745. Eleven days have been added to the dates given for the captures.

7 AN Colonies, $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fol. 34v, Duchambon and Bigot, 4 Nov. 1744.

8 Ibid., B, Vol. 78, fols, 409-409v, Maurepas to Duquesnel, 30 April 1744.

9 PRO, Adm. I, Vol. 3817, No. 5, Capt. John Mason to Shirley, 20 Sept. 1744.

10 See AN Colonies, $C^{11}B$, Vol. 23, fols. 170v, 180-180v, 157-157v; ibid., $C^{11}C$, Vol. 12, fol. 107v.

11 This statement is based on the fact that the bordereau for 1744 show no government expenditure for firewood or gunpowder as in previous years.

12 PRO, Adm. I, Vol. 3817, No. 6, Bradstreet and Ryall to Shirley, 21 Sept. 1744.

13 Ibid., No. 5, Capt. John Mason to Shirley, 20 Sept. 1744.
14 W.G. Godfrey, op. cit., p. 111.
15 AN Marine, 4 JJ 8, 4e Div., No. 58, portefeuille 19, pièce 13, between pp. 37 and 38, "Liste des Vaisseaux....," 30 Nov. 1744; PRO, Adm. I, Vol. 3817, No. 6, Bradstreet and Ryall to Shirley, 21 Sept. 1744.
16 AN Colonies, C11B, Vol. 26, fols. 34v, 35, Duchambon and Bigot, 4 Nov. 1744. The original French quote is "beaucoup de farine, du biscuit, du vin, et de l'eau de vie."
17 Information on baptisms and burials is taken from AN Outre-Mer, G1, Vol. 407, Reg. II, fols. 37-39.
18 AN Ancienne, G5, Carton 258, Amirauté, Conseil des Prises.
19 AN Colonies, D2C, Vol. 53, "Rolle generale des troupes ... en 1739."
20 Christian Pouyez and Gilles Proulx, L'Ile du Quai de Louisbourg, Travail inédit No. 149 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1972), pp 23-5.
21 See, for instance, AN Colonies, C11C, Vol. 12, fol. 99v, "depenses extraord...."
22 AN Outre-Mer, G3, 2047-1, pièce 24, "Testament d'Anne Guion Desprez," 31 May 1743.
23 Except when otherwise indicated, the account is based on information in AN Outre-Mer, G2, Vol. 199-1, dossier 187, "Dossier des papiers touchant la succession de deffunte anne Guion Després veuve Chevalier."
24 Després's will specified that a service be held either on the day of death or the next day. According to the information in ibid., dossier 187, such a service was held, probably on 4 or 5 August.
25 Ibid., Vol. 199, pièce 192.

September

1 Unless otherwise indicated, the source for the sections on the Duvivier expedition is based on AN Colonies, E, 169, "Journal de mr. duvivier."
2 In November 1744 Duchambon and Bigot submitted a plan for the capture of Annapolis Royal in 1745 in which they claimed they would need five vessels, 600 men and 200-300 native warriors. AN Colonies, C11B, Vol. 25, fols. 40-41v, 14 Nov. 1744.
3 George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., p. 12.
4 Thomas Beamish Akins, comp., Acadia and Nova Scotia; Documents Relating to the Acadian French and the First British Colonization of the Province, 1714-1758, reprint of

1869 ed. (Cottonport, La.: Polyanthos, 1972), p. 143, Mascarene to Shirley, Dec. 1744.

5 George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., p. 13.

6 Thomas Beamish Akins, op. cit., p. 143, Mascarene to Shirley, Dec. 1744.

7 Ibid., pp. 144-5.

8 Ibid., p. 145.

9 William Shirley, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 135, Shirley to Lords of Trade, 25 July 1744.

10 George A. Rawlyk, op. cit., p. 14; Rawlyk's translation of Duvivier's remarks.

11 AN Colonies, $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fols. 32-36, Duchambon and Bigot, 4 Nov. 1744.

12 AN Ancienne, G^5, Carton 258, Amirauté, Conseil des Prises.

13 Bradstreet was paid 1200 livres out of the Louisbourg treasury for his one-way voyage; Daccarrette and Rodrigue each received 1350 livres from the French and, presumably, a roughly equal amount from Massachusetts for the return trip. In addition they each were paid 640 livres by the French for their extended stay in Boston waiting to sail back to Louisbourg. AN Colonies, $C^{11}C$, Vol. 12, fol. 160v, "Bordereau ... 1744"; ibid., $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fols. 157-160v, "Bordereau ... 1744."

14 Ibid., $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fols. 157-160v, "Bordereau ... 1744"; 210 livres' worth of rum and 92 livres 8 sols' worth of beer were purchased to be shared among the prisoners on the three vessels.

15 PRO, Adm. I, Vol. 3817, No. 5, Capt. John Mason to Shirley, 20 Sept. 1744.

16 Ibid., No. 6, Bradstreet and Ryall to Shirley, 21 Sept. 1744.

17 William Shirley, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 145, Shirley to Newcastle, 22 Sept. 1744.

18 Ibid.

19 AN Colonies, $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fols. 157v-160, "Bordereau ... 1744"; ibid., $C^{11}C$, Vol. 12, fols. 157v-162, "Bordereau ... 1744."

20 Praise for the sisters can be found in a great many letters to France from governors and commissionaires-ordonnateurs. Even Thomas Pichon, who was very critical of other religious, spoke warmly of the sisters. See his Genuine Letters and Memoirs, Relating to the Natural, Civil, and Commercial History of the Islands of Cape Breton, and Saint-John.... (London: Printed for J. Nourse, 1760), p. 203.

21 Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal, Histoire de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal (Montreal: n.d.) Pt. 2, Vol. 4, p. 100.

22 All information on the baptisms, marriages and burials comes from AN Outre-Mer, G^1, Vol. 407, Reg. II, fols. 39-42v.

23 Christopher Moore, op. cit., p. 95.

24 Figures on the fishery were obtained from one of the tables in B.A. Balcom, op cit.

Epilogue

1 AN Marine, 4 JJ 8, 4^e Div., No. 58, portefeuille 19, pièce 13.

2 Joseph Bernard, Marquis de Chabert de Cogolin, Voyage fait par ordre du roi en 1750 et 1751 dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, facs. of 1753 ed. (East Ardsley, Eng.: S.R. Publishers, 1966), p. 103. The original French quote is "la ville ne présentoit qu'un tableau de tristesse, bien différent du spectacle que le concours des Navigateurs y procurait pendant l'été." The quote describes Louisbourg at the close of the shipping season for 1750, but the scene would have been much the same or worse in 1744.

3 Boston Weekly News-Letter, 6 Dec. 1744.

4 AN Colonies, $C^{11}B$, Vol. 27, fol. 132, 12 Oct. 1745. The original French is "qu'apres le depart des Vaisseaux de la Compagnie des Indes qui Relacherent l'année derniere à Louisbourg Il Etoit de Notorieté publique qu'il devoit avoir eté Embarqué Sur les Vaisseaux plus de Mil Matelots pecheurs Engagés et Cannoniers qui se trouverent de moins dans la Colonie."

5 PRO, High Court of the Admiralty, 32, 97/1, papers of the Argonaute.

6 Allan Greer, "The Soldiers of Ile Royale, 1720-45," History and Archaeology, No. 28 (1979).

7 Ibid., p. 48.

8 AN Colonies, $C^{11}B$, Vol. 26, fols. 40-41v, Duchambon and Bigot, 14 Nov. 1749.

9 Ibid., fols. 72-72v, Duchambon, 10 Nov. 1744.

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B Lettres envoyées.
$C^{11}B$ Correspondance générale, Ile Royale.
$C^{11}C$ Amérique du Nord.
$D^{2}C$ Troupes des colonies.
E Personnel individuel.

Paris. Archives Nationales. Archives de la Marine.
4 JJ Journaux de bord.

Paris. Archives Nationales. Section Ancienne.
G^{5} Amirauté et conseil des prises.

Paris. Archives Nationales. Section Outre-Mer.
G^{1} Registres de l'état civil, recensements et documents divers.

G^2 Greffes des tribunaux de Louisbourg et du Canada, Conseil supérieur et bailliage de Louisbourg.
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